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ABSTRACT

The relationship between child abuse and neglect and later socially deviant behavior was examined in two New York state studies: one in which 5,136 children identified as abused or neglected in the 1950s were followed up for later delinquent or ungovernable status, the second in which the histories of 1,963 children identified as delinquent or ungovernable were traced backward for prior involvement in child abuse or neglect cases. Amon the 11 major findings were the folloCing: as many as 50% of the families reported for child abuse or neglect has at least one child who was later taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable. In high contact counties, 25% of the boys and 17% of the girls with at least one founded maltreatment contact were later reported to a court as delinquent or ungovernable. Delinquent children who were reported as abused or neglected tended to be more violent than other delinquents. Few services were provided to abused and neglected children or their families. Children reported as abused or neglected and children reported as delinquent or ungovernable came from similar families, which were significantly different from the general population. Over half the document consists of appendixes including a search of the literature, summaries of contact data in both the 1950s and 1970s samples, and charts of such demographic data as presence of mothers and fathers in homes, out of wedlock birth status of the samples, ethnic data, and number of children per family. (PHR)

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REPORT
ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT AND LATER SOCIALLY DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

March, 1978

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PREFACE

The New York State Assembly Select Committee on Child Abuse was established in 1969 by then Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea. It was the first, and remains perhaps the only, legislative committee devoted solely to the issues of child abuse and neglect. The Select Committee was formed in response to widespread concern about the effectiveness and adequacy of the child protective system in New York State, a concern aroused by the death of an abused child who had been in the care of a number of agencies and courts. There was an immediate investigation into the handling of this particular case, but there were also questions about the functioning of the system as a whole. The mission of the Select Committee was to determine whether the existing child protective system was suffering from administrative problems, inadequate legislation, or both.

In 1969, Article 10 was added to the Family Court Act, and it was substantially revised the following year. Article 10 created a special child abuse part in the Court, formulated a more practice-oriented definition of abuse and neglect, and established special rules of evidence and procedure in child protective cases. Article 10 became known as "the children's bill of rights". In 1973, the Child Protective Services Act created a unified and uniform system to report, investigate, and treat cases of suspected child abuse and neglect in every community throughout the state. It specified in clear detail the functions of the local child protective service, as well as the responsibilities of the state department of social services, and it provided protection for the rights of parents and children named in reports of suspected child abuse and neglect. The Child Protective Services Act of 1973 has been considered a model of its kind of legislation.

In preparing these legislative changes, the Select Committee held several series of hearings throughout the state over a three year period. These hearings covered all aspects of the child protective system and the problems of child abuse and neglect. Many ideas were expressed and many perceptions were conveyed to the committee. In addition to the specific problems besetting the system, a number of witnesses directed the committee's attention to an examination of the social costs and consequences of child maltreatment. It was generally felt that these long-term consequences were ignored in the formulation of public policy and treatment programs--not deliberately but out of ignorance.

This testimony emphasized that many professionals had observed that abused and neglected children often grow up to become problem children who returned to the care and attention of societal institutions as delinquent and ungovernable juveniles. Several Family Court judges of long experience were especially emphatic about this point. Judge George Follett from the

Family Court in rural St. Lawrence County reported that judges "witness countless cases involving juvenile misbehavior where an evaluation of the family history reveals gross parental inadequacy." Dr. Shervert Frazier, then Deputy Director of the Columbia University Psychiatric Institute, spoke of his study of murderers who had all been "the victims of remorseless physical brutality when they were children." Judge Nanette Dembitz from the New York City Family Court summed up this line of testimony: "the root of crime in the streets is the neglect of children."

After the passage of the new child abuse laws, the Select Committee was responsible for monitoring their implementation. This task kept the Select Committee involved with the problems facing social agencies and the Family Court. The more the committee confronted these problems, the more it became apparent that the line drawn between child abuse or neglect and other social problems was thin, confusing, or fictitious. The children and their families were often the same or faced the same underlying personal, familial, or social difficulties. This experience only confirmed the testimony that had been given about the connection between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability.

Thus, the Select Committee became convinced that the nature of the apparent relationship between child abuse and other social problems had to be examined. In fact, it seemed reasonable, at first, to believe that this possible link had been studied already. The generally accepted knowledge about the decisive importance of early childhood experiences, moreover, would indicate that child maltreatment must have a profound forming influence on children. Yet, as the Committee's search of the literature indicated, (See Appendix A) nearly all of the research on the consequences, or sequellae, of child maltreatment has been limited to physical and short-term emotional effects. Most of these studies use small samples of children who are usually followed for a year or two. There has been little published research about the long-term effects of child maltreatment on the subsequent behavior of adolescents and adults.

The paucity of such studies is an important gap in our knowledge, not just about child abuse or neglect, but also about whatever other social problems it is associated. Understanding the possible relationship between child abuse or neglect and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability could have enormous significance for the way our society approaches the problems of child maltreatment and juvenile misbehavior. The Select Committee undertook this study with a grant from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services because its policy implications were of genuine legislative concern, and also because the Select Committee had access to the records of agencies and courts which would be needed for such a study. The biggest obstacle to this type of longitudinal study is finding and obtaining access to relevant records. Though most courts and agencies were very helpful and cooperative, the legislative authority of the Select Committee guaranteed that the committee could perform the study.

The absence of documented evidence on the long-term social consequences of child maltreatment has limited serverely the ability of planners to design effective treatment programs for children and juveniles. Social policy is not usually based on unverified observations and beliefs, no matter how accurate they may be. Knowledge must be demonstrated convincingly before it can be acted upon.

This report presents the basic findings of the study. Given the amount of information collected and the number of variables in it, the range of possible analysis is great. Additional detailed analysis is being conducted by Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island and will be reported on at a later date. (See Appendix B for a description of their work.) However, it is important that the basic findings discussed in this report be released as soon as possible. This report offers evidence that there is a definite relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile misbehavior and criminality. It does not attempt to prove that child maltreatment causes juvenile delinquency. It does show that maltreated children have a significantly greater likelihood of becoming delinquent or ungovernable. Though the data is conservative, the rate of juvenile delinquency among families in which abuse or neglect have occurred is considerably higher than among the general population of children living in the same communities.

To be useful, this report must be the beginning, not the end, of a process of finding the most effective arrangement of our social institutions meant to help children and families in trouble.

Hon. Christopher Mega,
Chairman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people, in different ways, contributed to the study that has resulted in this report. We wish to express our appreciation to everyone who helped.

The study would not have been possible without the cooperation of the agencies and courts whose records were used for the study. Gratitude is expressed to the following judges, court clerks, social service commissioners, child protective directors, and agency heads who were in office at the time of the study and who generously facilitated the work of collecting the data.

Broome County Family Court

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, Jr. -- Judge
Mr. Clarence Chase -- Probation Director
Mr. Caryl Adams -- Clerk

Broome County Department of Social Services

Hon. Carroll A. Smythe -- Commissioner
Ms. Lillian Wilson -- Director, Children's Services

Erie County Family Court

Hon. Raymond R. Niemer -- Administrative Judge
Hon. James B. Kane, Jr. -- Judge
Mr. Frank Boccio -- Clerk
Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson -- Probation Director

Erie County Department of Social Services

Hon. George G. Sipprell -- Commissioner

Mrs. Margaret Glass -- Director of Children's Services

Erie County Child and Family Services

Mr. Richard Mastronarde -- Executive Director

Mrs. Helen Bussell -- Supervisor

Kings County Family Court

Hon. Florence Kelley -- Administrative Judge

Hon. Joseph Williams -- Administrative Judge

Joseph Kenavan -- Clerk

The Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Mr. Robert Walsh -- Director

Mr. Stanley Michealides -- Supervisor

Monroe County Family Court

Hon. Robert H. Wagner -- Administrative Judge

Mr. Ronald G. Seward -- Clerk

Ms. Jean M. Dolan -- Supervising Probation Officer in Charge of Probation Intake

Monroe County Department of Social Services

Hon. Gabriel T. Russo -- Director

Hon. James Reed -- Director

Ms. Patricia Houlihan -- Administrative Caseworker in charge of Child Protective Services

New York County Family Court

Hon. Florence M. Kelley -- Administrative Judge

Hon. Joseph Williams -- Administrative Judge

Mr. Guy Fulcher -- Clerk

New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Mr. Thomas Becker -- Executive Director

New York City Department of Social Services

Hon. Jule M. Sugarman -- Commissioner

Hon. James Dumpson -- Commissioner

Mr. Stuart Grant -- Child Protective Specialist

New York City Department of Probation

Mr. John Wallace -- Director

Ms. Elaine Mulmeyer -- Supervisor

St. Lawrence County Family Court

Hon. J. George Follett -- Judge

Mr. James Bouchey -- Clerk

Mr. William Collins -- Director of Probation

St. Lawrence County Department of Social Services

Hon. Donald Kitchin -- Commissioner

Ms. Catherine Donovan -- Director, Children's Services

Mrs. Jo'Ella Craig -- Director, Childrens's Services

Suffolk County Family Court

Hon. Arthur Abrahms -- Administrative Judge

Mr. Herbert Weeks -- Clerk

Suffolk County Department of Social Services

Hon. James Kirby	-- Commissioner
Ms. Marion Erwin	-- Protective Services
Ms. Lois Martin	-- Children's Services

Suffolk County Probation Department

Mr. Roy Kahn	-- Director

Westchester County Family Court

Hon. Alvin Ruskin	-- Administrative Judge
Mr. Frank Pumillo	-- Clerk

Westchester County Department of Social Services

Hon. Charles Bates	-- Commissioner
Mr. John Allen	-- Director, Children's Services

Westchester County Probation Department

Mr. Raymond Riegger	-- Director

In addition to these officials, many clerks and other employees of the agencies and courts helped project staff in understanding the operations of the courts and agencies and locating various files and records. Their suggestions, knowledge, and help were relied on and also gratefully accepted. Since a list of all the names of the individuals who helped was not compiled in every county, it would be unfair to give a partial listing. Collective thanks is expressed to them no less than if it were possible to give individual thanks.

Also to be thanked are the students who collected the data from the agencies and courts of eight counties of New

York State. Depending on the size of the sample and the complexity of gathering the data in each county, the number of researchers varied. Thanks is given to all of them as follows:

In Broome county, Ms. Joan Dickinson and Mr. John Dickinson.

In Erie county, Ms. Clarice Mc Clure, Mr. Kevin Kane, Ms. Virginia Leone, and Mr. Leon Paxon.

In Kings county, Ms. Frances Butler, Mr. Bernard V. Kleinman, Mr. Thomas Mc Donald, and Ms. Jessica Schairer.

In Monroe county, Ms. Patricia Gould, Ms. Laurie Nusbaum, and Mr. Richard Nusbaum.

In New York county, Mr. Horace Batson, Ms. Laura Farley, Ms. Paul Ippolito, Mr. Thomas Mc Donald, and Ms. Jessica Schairer.

In St. Lawrence county, Ms. Sherrie Thomas Vader.

In Suffolk county, Ms. Barbara Drinkwater, and Mr. Bernard V. Kleinman.

In Westchester county, Mr. Christopher Bittner, Ms. Sally Bittner, Mr. William Ruskin, and Ms. Linda Spessotti.

Special thanks is expressed to Mr. Thomas Mc Donald, who remained with the study after the data collection phase was over. He prepared the data sheets for key punching, checked them for accuracy, helped prepare many of the preliminary charts or tables, and served as a liaison with the Computer Activity Group at Cornell University. He researched and wrote several drafts of the search of the literature in Appendix A. Thanks are also given to Ms. Patricia Cooke who patiently, and speedily, typed several drafts of this report.

Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island has been generous and helpful in offering valuable suggestions, as well as in preparing a few of the tables used in this report. Appendix B includes all the tables she has prepared.

INTRODUCTION

Methodology

The study is based on official records of child protective agencies and courts--on officially recorded reports of suspected child abuse or neglect and alleged juvenile delinquency and ungovernability. Children and families were not sought out or interviewed. The study examines, from the perspective of official records, children and families who were known to the child protective system or the court end of the juvenile justice system.

As will be noted in this report, basing a study on official records--the only concrete data available--has its own unique problems, but it also has its advantages. A positive aspect of being limited to official records is the certainty that something actually happened, and there was intervention in the life of a child and family. None of the interpretive and subjective problems associated with interviewing someone after the fact exist in this study. Whether a report was made, and whether it was found accurate, are known, not guessed. The specific, verifiable concreteness of the data collected is a firm base for analysis.

This is not an experimental research study made under the controlled conditions possible in a laboratory. It is, instead, an empirical study based on the official records of courts and

agencies. These records are used as the basis for a longitudinal examination of children who were in families reported for child abuse or neglect and children who were reported as delinquent or ungovernable. It was not possible to devise a pure "control group" against which to make comparisons. It was not possible to construct a sample of "normal" or "average" children from the general population because every group of children or families that might be studied have been identified for a particular problem or reason. The fact that they are available to be put into a control group means that they do not share the anonymity--the unlabelled status--of children and families who have not gotten into trouble, who have not been referred to an agency or court for one reason or another. Constructing a birth cohort, the only true control group possible, was beyond the scope and funding of this study.

The difficulty, if not impossibility, of constructing an adequate and useable control group was described by a British researcher:

> As the factors associated with child abuse are so complex it is a matter of great debate how one can obtain meaningfully matched controls. For example, it could be argued that in Elmer's study (1976) the controls matched so exactly her index group that no differences emerged. Could they have even been abused and not identified? In direct contrast to this, others advocate seeking controls from among those with perfect child rearing techniques. It could be questioned whether anyone is in the position to identify such "super parents." In the absence of controls many studies rely on using tests with well established norms, which at least provide a background of data against which results can be interpreted. 1

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When possible, discussions of the findings of this study include comparing the children or families in the study with children and families from the general population at large or other groups identified for specific reasons. For example, some of the characteristics of children who were reported as abused and neglected later were involved in a juvenile contact with the Family Court are compared to the general population of children similarly reported to the Family Court for juvenile misconduct. The demographic characteristics of the families in the study are compared to the general characteristics recorded in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's Census reports. (For example, see Findings numbers 2, 3, 6, and 11.) Any considerations to be taken into account in these analyses are discussed as part of the individual findings.

The study was conducted in eight counties in New York State: Broome, Erie, Kings, Monroe, New York, St. Lawrence, Suffolk and Westchester. Most of the contacts included in the study were between 1950 and 1972, though some go as far back as 1930.

1950's Sample

Two different samples of children were studied. The first group consisted of 5,136 children from 1,423 families which were reported for suspected child abuse or neglect in 1952 or 1953. (See Appendix B for a detailed description of the methodology of the study.) Not all of the children in this group were involved in the child protective contact during the sample year.

Some were never involved in such a contact but were included as siblings of the children who were. 4,465 of these children did have a contact with at least one agency or court for either child abuse or neglect or juvenile delinquency or ungovernability, or a combination of these situations.

The children and their families were identified from the records of public or private child protective agencies and the Children's Court. Court docket books, agency intake registers, master index files, petitions, legal files, and case records were used to identify the children and families to be included in the study. All data obtained on individual contacts came from legal files and case records. In three of the counties, all the reported child protective cases in the sample year were included in the study; in three other counties, the case load for two years was used to generate a sufficiently large sample. In the two New York City counties, the sample included all the cases reported in three months distributed through the sample year--February, July, and October--because of the large volume of cases.

The history of each child in a family reported for suspected abuse or neglect during the sample year was recorded in the study, including siblings who were not named in the report but who were part of the family either before or after the sample year contact. The histories of all of these children were then traced through the records of the Family Court, or its predecessor Children's Court, for later juvenile delinquency or ungovernability cases; Court contacts for abuse or neglect were also recorded. All the juvenile contacts involved situations that were considered serious enough to take the child to court.

Two aspects of this study of the 1950's sample were never undertaken as originally planned. The initial intention was to check the names of the children in this sample through the centralized State criminal records for possible later, adult contacts with the criminal justice system; the state-wide centralized records include every arrest for a "fingerprintable" offense, which would include all the serious crimes. Because the officials then responsible for maintaining these records did not agree to conduct this research in a way meaningful to the study, this part of the study was not done.

Officials of NYSIIS (New York State Indentification and Intelligence System), which maintains the centralized criminal records for the state, proposed to hire its staff on an overtime basis to check names of the children in the sample. This would have taken a year or two to do because the NYSIIS files before the early 1970's are not computerized, and manually checking the names and alternate names of the children in the 1950's sample would have required so much over-time that it would have doubled the data collection costs of the study. Moreover, NYSIIS did not want to release to the project the names of the children with a later criminal records, the nature of the criminal charges, and the disposition of their contacts with the criminal justice system. Instead, NYSIIS proposed releasing nothing more than a table. Without specific identifying data, it would have been impossible to relate the later criminal data with the earlier child protective and juvenile justice contacts of each child. Examining the possible association of specific types of child maltreatment with specific types of criminal behavior, or the effect of different child protective dispositions on later criminal activity--in short, the type of analysis at the heart of the study--would have been precluded. Time constraints did not permit a prolonged attempt to resolve these differences.

It was planned, also, to check the names of the children in the 1950's sample through the records of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, which has a rather extensive data file on children and adults receiving mental hygiene services in New York state. Though the department was willing to cooperate in the study, a change in the mental hygiene law removed the department's discretion to do so, and the impass was not resolved. It was thought that a number of the children in this sample, especially among the girls, might have had contact with the state's mental hygiene system. (One hypothesis was that girls would have more contacts with the mental hygiene system because of their greater tendency to internalize aggression than boys; if so, this might balance the boy's greater tendency to commit delinquency acts.)

The number of children and families in the 1950's sample may surprise some people; they represent a substantial child protective caseload from twenty-five years ago, when child abuse and neglect were not noticed to the extent they are today. In the last ten years, child maltreatment has received more attention than ever before. Public and professional willingness to admit its existence only began to develop near the end of the period under study. Yet, child abuse and neglect are not new problems, and child protective efforts have existed for many years in most communities in New York State. In the past, there was no central register to keep track of cases, and no one counted them, but they were there. Table I summarizes the number of children and families reported for suspected child abuse or neglect included in the 1950's sample.

Table I

Official Reports of Suspected Child Abuse or Neglect 1950's Sample

County	No. of Families	No. of Children in Families	No. of Children With Contacts
Broome	107	309	281
Erie	325	1459	1290
Kings	184	756	625
Monroe	128	593	545
New York	291	915	840
St. Lawrence	24	131	101
Suffolk	132	375	308
Westchester	222	597	453
	1423	5136	4465

Unsurprisingly, almost all of the contacts recorded in the 1950's sample were with public or private child protective agencies. Contacts with the Children's or Family Courts were either for child maltreatment or juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. Out of 11,445 contacts, only 131 were with other agencies and are not used in the study. 76% of the child protective contacts were with a public or private protective agency, while 24% of the contacts were with a court. (In two counties, Broome and Westchester, most of the contacts are court contacts because of the destruction of agency records. In Suffolk county most of the contacts were with the public child protection agency because a fire destroyed the Court building.) There were 1648 court contacts for juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. Table II lists the number of contacts with each type of agency or court in each county in the study.

Table II

Contacts - 1950's Sample

County	Private Agency	Public Agency	Court	Probation Intake
Broome	0	83	403	21
Erie	3054	72	1009	0
Kings	916	141	559	46
Monroe	1167	0	317	7
New York	1305	222	568	48
St. Lawrence	0	63	140	4
Suffolk	1	371	47	17
Westchester	1	5	662	65
	6450	957	3705	208

The high percentage of contacts with private child protective agencies in Erie, Kings, Monroe, and New York counties reflects the fact that these private agencies were the prime protective service agencies in their communities in the early 1950's. In many communities, public agencies did not become the prime child protective agencies until the mid or late 1960's. Then, amendments to the Social Security Act, requiring the provision of child protective services for children in families on welfare, changed the funding patterns for child protective services. As a result, a number of private agencies went out of business or at least ceased to serve as the prime child protective agency in their communities. The Monroe and Westchester county Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for example, merged with the local Department of Social Services, which then became the prime protective agency; their records, and at least some personnel, were incorporated into the public agency. This does not mean that all the child protective cases involved families on welfare, but the shifting of funds and their availability from the federal government under the revised laws undermined the financial base of the private agencies. This study found no evidence that these changes altered the philosophy of child protective services; usually the services were still provided by the same individuals but under a different agency.

The extremely low number of contacts with the Probation Intake Services in the 1950's sample is not a sign of the actual number of cases adjusted or diverted by the Intake service. In most counties, no record is kept of such contacts for more than six months or a year. Keeping permanent records on such cases is considered to contravene the philosophy of diversion--the desire to avoid scarring a child with a "record." This policy makes it impossible to use such contacts in the study, and it precludes ever studying their effectiveness.

A system of codes was devised to record the referral reason or reasons for each contact. These codes denote the experiences of children that led to them being reported as abused or neglected or their behavior that led to them being reported as delinquent or ungovernable. For each contact, these referral reasons are specific and uniformly coded. These codes were constructed to allow the study to describe the referral reasons in a way that was not affected by the changes in legal definitions that occurred during the period being studied. Until 1962, for example, when the Family Court was created, ungovernability or status offenses were considered a form of juvenile delinquency. The Family Court Act separated them into two distinct categories, and delinquency was then reserved for criminal acts committed by juveniles--"any acts which if done by an adult, would constitute a crime." The status offenses, or juvenile ungovernability, were put into their own category and called PINS offenses, meaning a person in need of supervision. Similarly, until Article Ten of the Family Court Act was enacted in 1969, child abuse was considered an aggravated form of child neglect. Article 10 distinguished between the two. The analysis in this study is not based on the legal label applied to a child but to the type of child maltreatment or juvenile misconduct. The child abuse contacts recorded before 1969 are not treated as child neglect but as child abuse. The status offenses recorded before 1962 are not treated as delinquent offenses but as juvenile ungovernability. These distinctions were possible because the referral reasons for each contact were individually recorded in accordance with the system of codes devised for this purpose. Thus, the study uses, not legal labels, but actual or alleged maltreatment of children and actual or alleged misconduct of juveniles. (All of the codes are listed in Appendix C.)

The system of recording referral reasons allowed up to six reasons for each contact. Almost half of the contacts in the study involved two or more referral reasons. This study is based on an examination of the prime referral reasons only. Since the distribution of all referral reasons closely corresponds to the distribution of the prime reasons, this procedure does not seem to create any distortions in the data. The prime reason, moreover, is the first reason mentioned in a case record or a court petition, and it seems reasonable to assume that the first one was considered the most important. For example, homicide was never listed as a second or lesser referral reason.

Child abuse was the prime referral reason in only 8% of the child protective contacts in the study, while child neglect was the prime reason in 92% of them. By comparison, in 1976 neglect accounted for 81% of all child protective reports. Only 3% of the child protective contacts were for reasons not specified in the coding system, an indication of how inclusive and useable it is. Table III summarizes the child abuse prime referral reasons.

Table III

Prime Child Abuse Referral Reasons
1950's Sample

Battered Child	9.2%	(65)
Other Physical Attacks	61.9%	(437)
Risk of Physical Injury	17.4%	(123)
Sexual Abuse	11.5%	(81)
Total		706

There were 7830 protective contacts in which child neglect was the prime referral reason. Three reasons accounted for 72% of these contacts: (1)inadequate food, shelter, and clothing; (2)inadequate supervision; (3)and parental alcoholism. Parental alcoholism was the prime referral reason in 13% of all the child protective contacts, and usually it was in association with other referral reasons. Parental drug addiction was the prime referral reason in only .4% of these contacts; this reflects the fact that drug addiction was not widespread in the early 1950's, certainly not at all as prevalent as it is today. Table IV lists the prime referral reasons for child neglect.

Table IV

Prime Child Neglect Referral Reasons
1950's Sample

Inadequate Supervision	35%	(2746)
Inadequate food, shelter, and clothing	23.9%	(1876)
Parental Alcoholism	12.9%	(1013)
Abandonment	7.2%	(561)
Parental Sexual Misconduct	4.9%	(385)
Parental Mental Illness	3.1%	(242)
Involuntary Parental Absence	3.1%	(242)
Parental Fighting	2.9%	(225)
Educational Neglect	2.7%	(210)
Impairment of Mental or Emotional Health	2.3%	(183)
Medical Neglect	1.3%	(100)
Parental Drug Use	.4%	(31)
Malnutrition	.2%	(12)
Parents Previously Abused Another Child	.1%	(4)
Total		7830 contacts

Until the definition of child maltreatment was revised with the passage of Article 10 of the Family Court Act in 1969, moral neglect or the sexual behavior of parents was a reason for child protective intervention, though usually it was associated with other forms of neglect, such as leaving children alone unattended. It was the prime referral reason in almost 5% of the child protective contacts in the study, and it was present more often as a secondary referral reason. With the revised definition, however, such conduct, in itself, was no longer considered sufficient reason for suspecting child abuse or neglect. In 1969, the focus was shifted from the behavior of the parent to the harm or potential harm to a child. Since parental sexual misconduct accounted for only 5% of the referral reasons, it is apparent that it was not considered a major form of child neglect even under the old definition. This implies that the change in 1969 might have been a ratification of general policy and belief.

Appendix C includes detailed marginal tables on the data collected in the 1950's sample. This data is available for each county but is too bulky to append to this report.

1970's Sample

The second sample of children studied consists of 1,963 children who were reported to the Family Court or Probation Intake Service as delinquent or ungovernable (PINS) in 1971 of 1972. They were identified from the records of the

Court and Probation Intake in the same way as the children in the first group were identified. The histories of the children in this group, however, were traced backwards for prior involvement in child abuse or neglect cases. Thus, the first group of children were examined to see in which direction they went after their contact with the child protective services system, while the second group of children were examined to see in which direction they had come before their contact with the juvenile justice system. In the second group, information was not collected on siblings, in part, because the records of juvenile cases, unlike protective records, do not always include information on brothers and sisters. The data in this group was kept separate from the data on the first group of children and families, though a few group by group comparisons were made to examine possible differences and changes in the handling of cases.

The children in the second group came from 1,851 families. The number of children and families are not identical because siblings were sometimes charged together for being delinquent or ungovernable; they got into trouble with each other. Table V lists the number of children and families in the second group in each county.

Table V
Children Reported As Delinquent or Ungovernable
1970's Sample

County	No. of Children	No. of Families
Broome	278	259
Erie	177	162
Kings	504	480
Monroe	293	273

New York	311	303
St. Lawrence	41	38
Suffolk	204	187
Westchester	155	149
	1963	1851

The children in the 1970's sample had 2,688 contacts with the Family Court and 2,379 contacts with the Court's Probation Intake Service. These children also had 688 contacts with public or private child protective agencies. Table VI lists the number of contacts with each type of agency or court in each county studied. The court or probation contacts include some for child abuse or neglect.

Table VI
Contacts - 1970's Sample

County	Court	Probation Intake	Private CPS Agency	Public CPS Agency
Broome	468	1	0	124
Erie	211	229	46	46
Kings	700	988	57	42
Monroe	405	413	106	1
New York	626	230	88	131
St. Lawrence	55	18	0	10
Suffolk	159	233	0	12
Westchester	64	267	0	25
Totals	2688	2379	297	391

Unlike the first sample, there are many Probation Intake contacts in the second sample. The second group is more recent-- the data on it was collected only a year or two after the sample year contact-- and the Probation Intake data had not been destroyed yet, except in Broome County, where it is kept for only two months. The lack of any contacts with private child protective agencies in Broome, St. Lawrence, Suffolk, and Westchester counties only reflects the fact that there are no such agencies in these counties. In the other counties, private agencies were still active as the prime child protective agency in the community when many of the child protective contacts in the second group occurred.

The referral reasons for delinquency or ungovernability in the second sample are consistent with the distribution of referral reasons for all juvenile cases in the judicial year 1971-72.[2] Table VII lists the prime referral reasons for delinquency and ungovernability in the second sample and compares their distribution with the official statistics for all the juvenile cases in the State.[3] The official state figures only include filed petitions; the referral reasons from the study also include Probation Intake cases that may have been adjusted, and this may alter the percentage distribution somewhat. The differences between the sample and the entire juvenile caseload

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are small enough to indicate that the sample appears to be representative of the state as a whole.

Table VII
Delinquency Contacts - 1970's Sample

Delinquency Referral Reasons	No. of Prime Reasons	% of Sample	% Distribution In State Caseload[4]
Burglary	661	20%	20%
Robbery	515	15.5%	11%
Larceny	471	14.2%	13%
Assault	391	11.8%	10%
Malicious Mischief	247	7.4%	4%
Narcotics Violation	198	5.9%	3%
Auto Theft	180	5.4%	2%
Unlawful Entry	139	4.2%	2%
Disorderly Conduct	126	3.8%	1%
Unauthorized Use of Auto	105	3.1%	8%
Receiving Stolen Property	74	2.2%	3%
Possession of Dangerous Weapon	72	2.1%	4%
Arson	46	1.3%	1%
Other Sex Crimes	43	1.3%	1%
Possession of Burglar's Tools	19	.57%	1%
Rape	14	.42%	1%
Homicide	7	.21%	.37%
Gambling	2	.06%	.03%
Unlawful Assembly	2	.06%	.08%

3312 contacts

The prime PINS or ungovernability referral reasons for the contacts included in the study of the second sample also correspond closely to the percentage distribution of PINS referral reasons throughout the state. Table VIII summarizes these referral reasons and compares the distribution of them in the sample with the state-wide count of petitions filed.

Table VIII
Ungovernability Contacts - 1970's Sample

Ungovernability (PINS) Referral Reasons	No. of Prime Reasons	% of Sample	% Distribution In State
Habitual Truancy	582	39.4%	24%
Running Away From Home	392	26.5%	24%
Refusal to Obey	258	17.5%	21%
Staying Out Late	146	9.9%	9%
Sexual Misconduct	44	3.0%	2%
Associating With Bad Companions	18	1.2%	6%
Glue Sniffing	17	1.2%	0
Intoxication	10	.68%	1%
Using Vile Language	9	.61%	2%
	1476 contacts[5]		

The difference in the distribution of truancy in the sample and the state-wide figures may be related to the sampling technique--the second sample was primarily drawn from three months, February, July, and October. These months, two other more local departments that served the cities of Binghamton and Union-Johnson. This was the only county in the state that had such a tripartate division of its public social service agency.

ERIE COUNTY contains the second largest city in the state, Buffalo, with a population of 462,000. Between 1950 and 1970, the population of Buffalo decreased by 80,000 people while the population of the county increased by 215,000 people. Many of the people who left Buffalo moved into suburban communities that are within the county. Erie county has a total population of over 1,100,000 people. A special feature of Erie county is its rural communities, which are not isolated but within a half hour's drive to Buffalo or one of the smaller cities in the county. During the period under study, the non-white population of the county doubled to almost 10% of the total population. In recent years, the movement of industry away from this part of the state has had a severe economic impact on Buffalo and Erie county, though most of it occurred after the period of the study. The records in this county were relatively complete.

KINGS COUNTY, also known as Brooklyn, is part of New York City, and today it includes some of the worst slum areas of the city. Kings county has experienced a dramatic change in its population during the period under study. Between 1950 and 1960, Kings county lost a total of 13.6% of its population, and another 10.7% from 1960 to 1970. Besides this significant decrease in total population, there was an enormous change in the racial and ethnic composition of the county--an influx of blacks from the South and Puerto Ricans from the Island, accompanied by a large exodus of whites to Queens county and the suburban communities outside the City. The non-white population almost quadrupled from 1950 to 1970, now accounting for 27% of the total population of the county. The records in this county were well preserved.

MONROE COUNTY contains the third largest city in the state, Rochester, with a population of 295,000 people. As in Buffalo, the population of Rochester declined while the population of the county increased from 487,000 people in 1950 to 711,000 people in 1970. From 1950 to 1970, the non-white population of the county increased from 1.7% to 7.9% of the total population. Though experiencing a change, Rochester has not suffered the severe economic difficulties of Buffalo; two large, international corporations, with close ties to the Rochester community, have maintained their headquarters in Rochester. This county had the most complete set of records of all the counties in the study. The record keeping system was the easiest to use.

NEW YORK COUNTY is also called Manhattan, and in most people's minds it is synonymous with New York City, the largest city in the state, the largest city in the United States, and one of the largest cities in the world. When people think of urban problems, they think of New York county. Like Kings county, a substantial change in population occurred between 1950 and 1970. From 1950 to 1960, the total population decreased 18.1%, and from 1960 to 1970, it decreased by an additional 12.9%. But the change in racial composition was not as drastic as in Kings county. The non-white population was 20.6% in 1950 and 29.2% in 1970. The records in New York county were relatively complete.

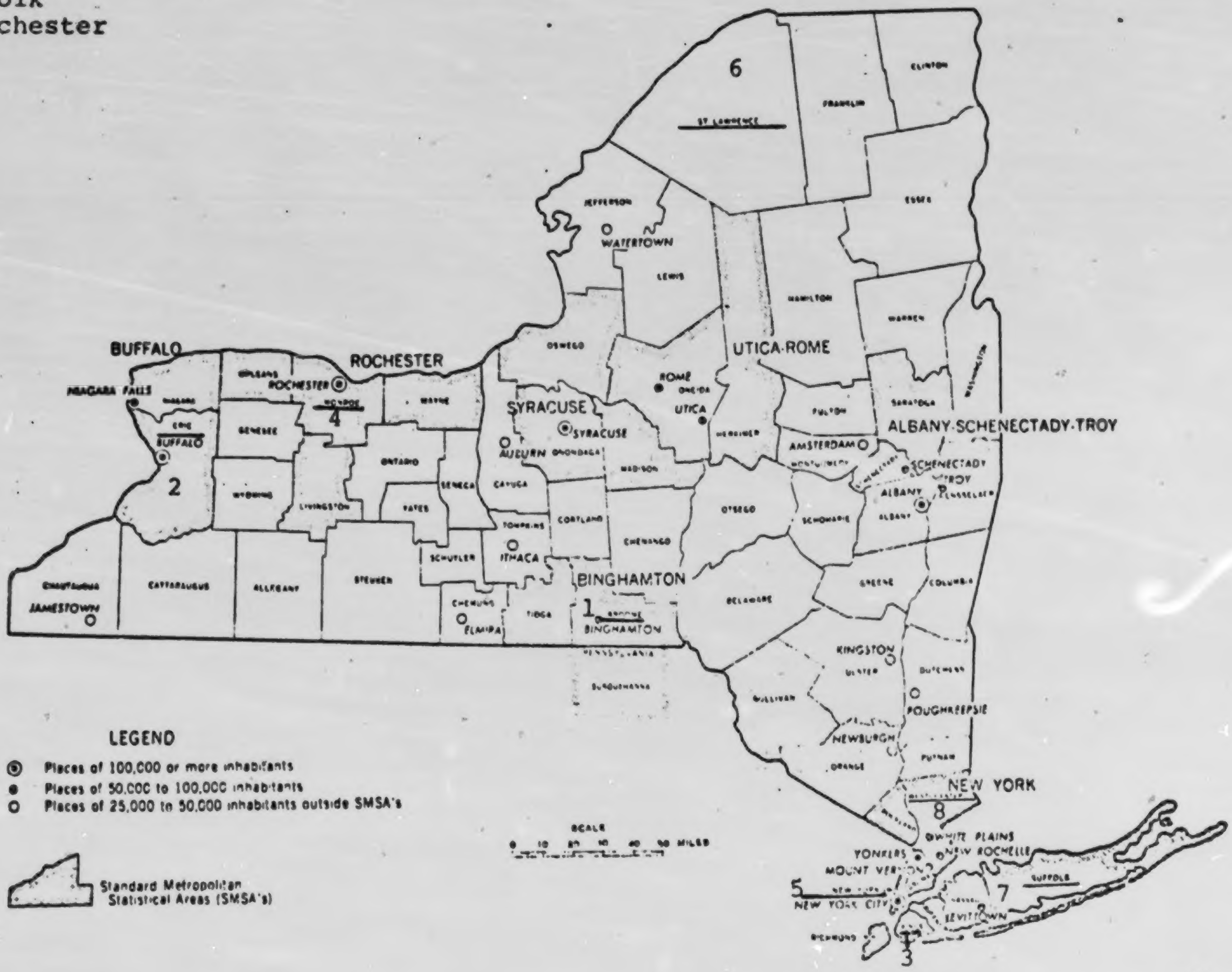
ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY remained a rural county throughout the period under study. It is not a rural community of large agribusiness farms, but of smaller, family farms. It is not a wealthy community. There are no large cities in this county, and the largest community, Potsdam, has only 16,000 people. The total population of St. Lawrence county increased from 98,000 to 112,000 during the period 1950 to 1970. There was a net migration of 4% of the population out of the county. Of all the counties in the study, St. Lawrence county changed the least during the period studied. Less than one percent of the population is non-white, increasing from .2% to .6% of the total population between 1950 and 1970. The records were relatively complete.

SUFFOLK COUNTY experienced a tremendous increase in population and change in status during the period studied. In 1950, Suffolk was primarily a rural county with large farms; potatoes were a large staple crop. By 1970, Suffolk County had become a suburban "bedroom" community for people who had moved out of New York City and often remained employed in the City. Toward the end of the period under study, Suffolk County had begun to grow further--to become less dependent on New York City for jobs and to create its own self-contained economy, capable of employing locally an increasing percentage of its residents. At the same time, poor people and families on welfare began to make the same judgements about New York City as the middle class that had already fled, and they too began to migrate into Suffolk county in search of a "better life." From 1950 to 1960, the population of Suffolk County increased 116.5%, and from 1960 to 1970 it increased another 49.3%. The percentage, though not number, of non-whites remained almost constant, from 4.9% in 1950 to 5.2% in 1970. Many of the records in this county were missing--the wooden Family Court building was struck by lightening in 1956 and burnt to the ground.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY was already a suburban community for New York City in 1950 and became more so by 1970. The population increases, however, were negligible compared to the increases in the other suburban communities around New York City. (Some of them are across the Hudson River in New Jersey.) From 1950 to 1960, the population of Westchester county increased 17.6%, and from 1960 to 1970 it increased by another 2%. Westchester is a diverse county, with some of the wealthest communities in the state, bordering alongside the even wealthier communities of Connecticut, and with a growing number of poor sections, especially in the southern part of the county bordering the northern most county of New York City, the Bronx. The non-white population increased from 6.2% to 13.2%. Many of the social service records in this county were destroyed after the Westchester Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children went out of business and merged with the Westchester County Department of Social Services. The court records were intact.

The map on the next page shows the geographical distribution of these eight counties in New York State.

1 Broome
2 Erie
3 Kings
4 Monroe
5 New York
6 St. Lawrence
7 Suffolk
8 Westchester


6
ST LAWRENCE
FRANKLIN
CLINTON
ESSEX
JEFFERSON
WATERTOWN
LEWIS
HAMILTON
WARREN
WASHINGTON
UTICA-ROME
ROME
ONEIDA
UTICA
HERKIMER
FULTON
SARATOGA
ALBANY-SCHENECTADY-TROY
AMSTERDAM
MONTGOMERY
SCHENECTADY
TROY
ALBANY
RENSSELAER
OSWEGO
SYRACUSE
AUBURN
ONONDAGA
MADISON
CAYUGA
BUFFALO
NIAGARA FALLS
NIAGARA
ERIE
2
ROCHESTER
ORLEANS
MONROE
4
WAYNE
GENESEE
WYOMING
LIVINGSTON
ONTARIO
YATES
SENECA
TOMPKINS
ITHACA
CORTLAND
CHENANGO
OTSEGO
SCHOHARIE
GREENE
COLUMBIA
DELAWARE
CHAUTAUQUA
JAMESTOWN
CATTARAUGUS
ALLEGANY
STEUBEN
SCHUYLER
CHEMUNG
ELMIRA
TIOGA
BINGHAMTON
1
BROOME
PENNSYLVANIA
SUSQUEHANNA
KINGSTON
ULSTER
DUTCHESS
POUGHKEEPSIE
SULLIVAN
NEWBURGH
ORANGE
PUTNAM
NEW YORK
8
ROCKLAND
WHITE PLAINS
YONKERS
NEW ROCHELLE
MOUNT VERNON
5
NEW YORK
NEW YORK CITY
SUFFOLK
7
LEVITTOWN
RICHMOND
3
SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50 MILES
LEGEND
⊙ Places of 100,000 or more inhabitants
● Places of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants
○ Places of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants outside SMSA's
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's)

NEW YORK STATE
Counties, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and Selected Places
Bureau of Census
U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970

In both the 1950's and the 1970's samples, there is a similar pattern to the average number of contacts for the children living in different counties. The eight counties in the study can be classified into two broad groups--low contact and high contact counties. Table IX gives a breakdown of the average number of contacts for each sample in each county.

Table IX

	AVERAGE NO. OF CONTACTS, 1950's SAMPLE	AVERAGE NO. OF CONTACTS, 1970's SAMPLE
Low Contact Counties		
Broome	1.80	2.15
St. Lawrence	2.07	2.02
Suffolk	1.53	2.00
Westchester	1.57	2.86
High Contact Counties		
Erie	3.20	3.01
Kings	2.67	3.60
Monroe	2.73	3.19
New York	2.62	3.64
Total Sample		
All counties	2.56	3.03

In three of the low contact counties--Broome, Suffolk, and Westchester--a significant number of records had been destroyed. St. Lawrence county is the most rural and sparsely populated county in the study. The four high contact counties all have major urban centers. New York and Kings counties are part of New York City, and Monroe county has the city of Rochester, while Erie county has the city of Buffalo. Thus, the four high contact counties include the first, second, and third largest cities in the state.

The considerably higher average number of contacts in the 1950's Erie county sample may reflect the aggressive, out-reach policies of the private child protective agency in the county during the period studied. The higher average number of contacts in the 1970's sample may be explained in two ways. The difference may be a function of the sample; in the 1950's group, the sample is child protective cases, while the 1970's group is juvenile delinquency and ungovernability cases that were referred to court and includes the contacts preserved in the records of the Probation Intake Service. This increase may also reflect the greater emphasis on juvenile crime in recent years. The higher average may also be a function of the more recent time of the sample--there has been less time for records to be destroyed or lost. As is to be expected, these variations among the counties will have some impact on the findings for each county. (See Appendix B for tables relating characteristics of children and families in the 1950's sample to this ranking of counties by their low or high contact status.)

Introduction

The findings of this study confirm that there is an empirical relationship between child abuse or neglect and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. The most basic findings are described in this report, but additional findings will also be discussed at a later date as more sophisticated analysis of the data is carried out. A comprehensive secondary analysis of this data is being performed by Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island. Given the number of variables in the data--enough to occupy almost 50,000 key punch cards--the analysis of this data can become quite complex and protracted, but it is not expected that any of the basic findings presented in this report will be altered. The important secondary analysis being made of the data collected for this study will supplement the findings presented in this report with a finer gradation of understanding, as well as examine issues that are not discussed in this report. (See Appendix B for a description of the secondary analysis being performed by Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr.)

It must be emphasized, and understood, that the findings presented in this report are conservative and underestimate the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct for a number of reasons. Most of these reasons are related to the fact that the study is based on official records. One significant conservative factor is the destruction of official records. If information is not preserved, it cannot show up in a study such as this one. In three of the counties--Broome, Suffolk, and Westchester--sizeable segments of the official records on child maltreatment or juvenile offenses were destroyed or lost through design or happenstance. This is a fact of life which researchers must live with and consider in interpreting the results of data that can be collected.

Another consequence of having to rely on official records is that the findings are made conservative by the under-reporting of child abuse and neglect. Until the development of reporting laws and specialized child protective services, many situations of child abuse or neglect were not reported, or if they were, they were not called child maltreatment or protective cases but were hidden in referrals based on a generalized need for services. Saying that parents "cannot cope," for example, is a way of saying that children are not being properly cared for without invoking the spectre of child abuse or neglect. Both labels refer to the same problem, but they result in a different approach to the family, and the generalized approach probably leads to a less assured protection of endangered children because the actual or potential harm to a child is more easily overlooked.

Child protective professionals universally acknowledge that even today, despite publicity, reporting laws, and elaborate child protective systems, child maltreatment is not being reported nearly to the extent it occurs. Many professionals estimate that only about one tenth of the actual abuse or neglect situations are ever reported. All of the protective contacts in this study, in both samples, occurred before the recent wave of professional and public concern about maltreated children. During the time of the study, under-reporting was probably even greater than it is now. Based on the 1950 Census Reports, it is possible to make a good estimate of the reporting rate of child abuse and neglect during the sample year. As Table X shows, it was about half the rate of reporting today.[6]

Table X

Reporting Rates For Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect

County	Sample Year Rate (1952 or 53)	1976 Rate
Erie	.5%	.8%
Monroe	.4%	.8%
St. Lawrence	.3%	1.5%
Kings and[7] New York	.5%	.8%

Being based only on official records of child protective agencies and the courts introduces another conservative factor in the study. To show a relationship between child maltreatment and later juvenile misconduct, a child must be officially reported to two different systems--the child protective and the juvenile justice systems--but a child may have been reported only to one. For example, a child may have been reported as abused or neglected and later engage in juvenile misconduct but not have been officially reported to a court as delinquent or ungovernable. Similarly, a delinquent or ungovernable child may have been abused or neglected without being reported to a child protective agency.

That the contacts for juvenile delinquency or ungovernability (PINS) were limited to the Children's or Family courts and its Probation Intake Service is another important conservative factor in the study. Thus, the bulk of the possible contacts with the juvenile justice system, which do not result in a referral to court, were excluded from the study. Many delinquent and ungovernable juveniles are never referred to court. A basic tenet of the juvenile justice system is that court action should be used only as a last resort; the system is designed to keep all but the most dangerous or incorrigible juveniles out of court. One study, for example, found that only forty percent of the arrested youths reached the intake service of a juvenile court.[8] Moreover, the Probation Intake Service itself "diverts" cases away from the court without formal action. During the period of the study, about one half of the cases referred to juvenile courts in the Untied States were diverted or adjusted without official court intervention.[9] When a case is adjusted, the Intake Service either arranges an amicable settlement of the issues and the case is dropped or it refers the juvenile to a special program instead of involving the court officially.

The 1970's sample includes contacts with the Probation Intake Service of the Family Court, but the 1950's sample does not because the records of these "unofficial" cases were not preserved. The non-court contacts with the juvenie justice system--

including the estimated 60% of the juveniles whom the police arrest but do not refer to court--were not included in the study. Such contacts are real and have meaning--they often lead to a referral to a special youth program--but contacts with the police and pre-court diversion programs are problemmatical and subject to varying interpretation. No one agrees about the meaning of the arrest of a juvenile who is not referred to court. Including such contacts with the juvenile justice system would probably have increased the likelihood of finding a greater statistical association in the data collected, but it would have also increased the subjectivity of its analysis. Thus, the juvenile justice contacts in both samples are only cases that were considered serious enough to require court action, and the reasons for them are specified in detail on court petitions.

Another noteworthy conservative factor in the study is the migration of families in and out of the counties studied during the period of the study, 1952 to 1972. This migration limits the relationship that can be found between child abuse or neglect and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. Children who were reported as delinquent or ungovernable may have been living elsewhere when they were abused or neglected, and other abused or neglected children may have moved out of the county before becoming involved in delinquent or ungovernable behavior. In addition to the significant demographic changes that occurred in some of the counties, families involved in abuse or neglect, and perhaps with delinquent or ungovernable children, move more frequently than the average family, according to the literature on child maltreatment.

The population of Kings and New York Counties, besides experiencing a substantial gross decrease in population, also experienced an enormous change in the ethnic and racial composition of their populations. (These two counties are part of New York City.) Over one million people moved into Suffolk county during this period, while some upstate communities also lost or gained in population. The Census Reports for 1950, 1960, and 1970 record these changes in gross population excluding changes due to births and deaths; counting the movement of people in and out of the counties, they provide a picture of the net change in the population of each county in the study. The migration changes are as follows:

County	1950 to 1960	1960 to 1970
Broome	+.2%	-6.6%
Erie	+4.6%	-4.8%
Kings	-13.6%	-10.7%
Monroe	+6.6%	+9.4%
New York	-18.1%	-12.9%
St. Lawrence	-3.5%	-9%
Suffolk	+116.5%	+49.3%
Westchester	+17.6%	+2%

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The experience of other research efforts, in which families were being interviewed, reveals how difficult it can be to follow-up children after they have been reported as abused or neglected because they cannot be located. A study in Denver Colorado,[10] was able to locate only 40% of the children as soon as one year after the report had been made. In a two year follow-up study in Australia,[11] 33% of the children were unlocatable. In a follow-up study in Rochester New York,[12] 25% of the children could not be found five years later. Why these children could not be located cannot, of course, be known for sure. If their families had moved, how far away, and whether to another city or county, cannot be known. In view of the high association between child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct found among the Monroe county children in this study, it is interesting to note that the number of unlocatable children in these other studies was significantly lower in the Rochester study, even though the follow-up period was two or three times longer than in the Denver or Australian studies.

The data in this study is county-based, and the cross referencing for later delinquency or ungovernability or earlier abuse and neglect, was limited to the county in which the children and families were identified. There was no other way to do the study, short of cross referencing each name in all sixty-two counties of the state. There is no state-wide listing of identifying data on Family Court cases, and the State Central Register of Child Abuse and Maltreatment Reports did not become fully operational until September 1, 1973. Before then, it collected incomplete data on some child abuse reports, excluding the overwhelming majority of child protective cases that are called neglect, and even then the data collection was erratic. There is no way of accounting for children and families who moved in or out of the state.

Children were lost from the study in other ways, too. Some may have been so seriously abused that they died or were institutionalized for life; an example would be a child who is brain-damaged to the extent that he has to be placed in a mental retardation facility. Other children are placed in foster homes for long periods of time, and they may become known by the name of the family they live with. If the child is placed for adoption, his name is changed automatically, and the records are sealed to prevent the tracing of his history. In this way, the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct is underestimated by these conservative factors. Estimating the impact of these factors is not really possible, though the data collected indicates that at least 1% of the children in the sample had died by the time the data was collected. Their death is known only because it was recorded in the official records studied; other children may have died without their deaths being recorded in the case records of a child protective agency or Family Court. Checking the names of all the children through the vital statistics records of counties or the state was considered, but it proved to be technically impossible.

One additional factor understates even the possible relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct that the study can portray. Children could be charged with delinquent behavior only between their seventh and sixteenth birthdays, and with ungovernable behavior from their seventh to eighteenth birthdays. In practice, the active age range for delinquency is ten to sixteen, and for ungovernability it was, until recently, seven to eighteen if a child was a girl and seven to sixteen if a boy; thus, the period of most juvenile misconduct is limited to about six years. This means that some children in the study were never "eligible" to be charged with delinquency or ungovernability during the period studied, while most of the others were "eligible" for only part of that period. For example, a sibling who was over sixteen at the time of the sample year contact could not be charged with a juvenile offense. Or, a child who was included because of a maltreatment contact when he was two could not possibly have been charged with delinquency for another five or nine years.

Similarly, the "eligibility" of the children in the study is limited by the number of officially recorded contacts included in the study. The number of contacts for each child varies greatly, ranging from none to twenty-two contacts. Only considering the first contact, already 11% of the children were not available by the sample to have a later delinquent or ungovernable contact, and only 37% of the children with one contact were old enough to be charged with delinquency or ungovernability. By the second contact, almost half the children are no longer available for a juvenile contact because they did not have three or more contacts, and almost half of those who are available were too old to be charged with delinquency or ungovernability. Appendix B, Table 4 summarizes this phenomena by county.

These are the limiting contexts in which the data in this study had to be collected and anlyzed. The findings in this study are conservative and underestimate the relationship or association between officially reported child maltreatment and later officially reported juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. The interrelationships described in this report are all minimal, bed-rock figures. Bare and uninflated, they are persuasive because they are conservative.

Finding No. 1

As Many As 50% of the Families Reported For Child Abuse or Neglect Had At Least One Child Who Was Later Taken To Court As Delinquent or Ungovernable

An examination of the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability should include the families from which the children came. Most of the families in the 1950's sample had two or more children, some of whom were involved in various contacts and some of whom were not. 42% of the families with at least one founded contact had one or more children who were taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable. In the five counties with relatively complete records, 49% of the families had such a child. In the county with the most complete set of records, Monroe county, 64% of the families were in this situation. Table XI summarizes this data by county.

Table XI

County	No. of Families in 1950's Sample	No. of Families With Founded Contact	No. of Families With Inter-Relationship	Percentage of Families With Inter-Relationship
Broome	107	92	23	25%
Erie	335	325	163	50%
Kings	184	170	84	49%
Monroe	128 (13)	128	82	64%
New York	291	199	76	38%
St. Lawrence	24	20	10	50%
Suffolk	132	97	26	27%
Westchester	222	210	57	27%
Totals	1423	1241	521	42%

The correlation between child maltreatment and juvenile misbehavior among the families is twice that among the children. There is a simple explanation for the differences in the relationships by children and families. In some families, only one child was reported as delinquent or ungovernable. For example, 3.4% of the boys had only a founded delinquency or ungovernability contact; they were never involved in a child protective contact for abuse or neglect. Some children in the families were never involved in any type of contact, while not every child who was reported as abused or neglected was later reported to the court delinquent or ungovernable. In a particular family, only one of the children reported as abused or neglected may have been later reported as delinquent or ungovernable.

This finding implies that families reported for child abuse or neglect account for a disproportionate number of delinquent and ungovernable children. Only a minute fraction of the families in the counties under study were reported for child abuse or neglect in the 1950's sample. Yet, in the counties with complete records, about half of these families produced at least one child who was taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable. It is doubtful that any other possible group of families experiences such a high rate of delinquency--except a group comprised of delinquent children.

Finding No. 2

In Monroe County, the Rate of Juvenile Delinquency and Ungovernability Among the Children Reported as Abused or Neglected Was Five Times Greater Than Among the General Population

In Monroe County, it was possible to compare the rate of juvenile delinquency and ungovernability of the children in the 1950's sample with the children living in the county as a whole. The rate of delinquency-ungovernability of all children between the ages of 10 and 16 in Monroe County between the years 1957 and 1967 was 2%.[14] At the same time, the rate of delinquency or ungovernability for the children in the sample averaged almost 10%--five times greater. It should be remembered that the 1950's Monroe County sample alone was substantial--almost 600 children. This is the most convincing evidence available that there is a definite relationship between child maltreatment and later juvenile delinquency and ungovernability. Table XII gives a detailed comparison of the delinquency-ungovernability rate for Monroe County in the years 1957 through 1967.[15]

Table XII

Comparison of Delinquency-Ungovernability Rates in Monroe County, 1957-1967

	Total Population of Children 10-16 Years			Children in 1950's Sample, 10-16 Years		
Year	Children 10-16 (12)	No. Children Contacted		Children 10-16	No. Children Contacted	
1967	81,726	2025	(2%)	154	26	(17%)
1966	81,726	1897	(2%)	221	20	(9%)
1965	81,726	1662	(2%)	236	33	(14%)
1964	81,726	1322	(2%)	246	22	(9%)
1963	81,726	1085	(1%)	242	15	(6%)
1962	67,038	709	(1%)	243	24	(10%)
1961	67,038	759	(1%)	229	17	(7%)
1960	67,038	496	(1%)	205	18	(9%)
1959	67,038	588	(1%)	184	25	(14%)
1958	67,038	737	(1%)	169	12	(7%)
1957	67,038	645	(1%)	159	13	(8%)
	Average		1.46%			9.6%

These figures are conservative because the rate for the general population of children between 10 and 16, the years during which most delinquency and ungovernability happens, include the "unofficial" or adjusted cases, while the rate for the children in the 1950's sample is almost exclusively "official" cases for which a petition was filed. (There were only 7 Probation Intake contacts in the Monroe 1950's sample.) It is safer to be conservative, and the data makes the case strongly enough as it is. The sharp increase in juvenile cases between 1962 and 1963 reflects the creation of the new Family Court in 1962 and the establishment of a separate category for juvenile ungovernability or status offenses. The pre-1962 figures do not separate the status offense from the other delinquency cases, but it is safe to assume that the increased attention created by the establishment of the Family Court, which was the culmination of many years of reform agitation, hightened awareness about the problems of juvenile misbehavior, thus encouraging more cases to be brought to court. Focusing attention on a social problem tends to increase the official reporting of it. Moreover, the greater promise of solving the problems of juvenile crime and misbehavior, which were explicitly and implicitly made in the process that led to the establishment of the Family Court, also would have prompted more professionals and citizens to use the facilities of the new court.

It is important to note that the socio-economic background of the children in the 1950's sample of reported abuse and neglect cases and the general population of children reported to the court as delinquent or ungovernable is comparable. It is generally believed that many, if not most, of the families reported for suspected child abuse or neglect are from the lower socio-economic strata of our society. It is also generally believed that most children taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable are also from the lower socio-economic strata of our society. Indeed, a recent survey by the New York State Division for Youth[16] found that 74% of the children placed with the Division as a result of a delinquency or ungovernability finding in the Family Court are from families that have been supported by public welfare funds. A 1973 study[17] found that 59% of the families of children charged with delinquency or ungovernability in the Family Court were receiving public assistance. It seems clear that families reported to child protective agencies and families that produce delinquent or ungovernable juveniles are weighted toward the lower socio-economic levels of our society. This does not mean that all abused or neglected children, and all delinquent or ungovernable juveniles, come from impoverished or low income families. The socio-economic factors that are said to affect the reporting of child maltreatment also seem to affect the reporting of juvenile misconduct. Both the child protective and the juvenile justice systems operate under similar constraints and generally serve the same population of children and families.

It was possible to make this comparison only in Monroe County because no other county kept records of the number of delinquency-ungovernability cases for the years involved in this study. As in other instances, Monroe County had, by far, the best record keeping system of any county in the study. The old Annual Report of both the Children's Court and the Family Court in Monroe County have been preserved from at least 1950 to the present. Thus, it was possible to know how many official and unofficial juvenile cases had occurred each year in this county. The state-wide data collected by the Office of Court Administration only goes back to 1965 or 1966, too late to be of any use in this study, and it does not include cases adjusted by the Probation Intake Service.

Knowing the exact number of juvenile cases in Monroe County for each year of the period under study meant that it was possible to make an exact comparison between the rate of delinquency and ungovernability in the general population and the children in the 1950's sample. With the exact number of total cases for each year between 1957 and 1967, the rate of delinquency-ungovernability could be calculated in the same way it was for the children in the 1950's sample--based only on court contacts. Greater exactitude is not possible.

If similar data on the delinquency-ungovernability cases in other counties ever turns up, a similar comparison could be readily made for the children in that county.

Finding No. 3

In High Contact Counties, 25% of the Boys and 17% of the Girls With at Least One Founded Child Maltreatment Contact in the Early 1950's Were Later Reported to a Court as Delinquent or Ungovernable

In high contact counties of the 1950's sample, 25% of the boys and 17% of the girls with at least one founded, maltreatment contact were later taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable juveniles. 3.4% of the boys and 1.9% of the girls in the sample were siblings of children who had been reported as abused or neglected but who had never been part of a child protective report. In Monroe County, the county with the most complete set of records, 32% of the boys and 24% of the girls were later reported as delinquent or ungovernable.

It should be noted that these figures, like the ones in Finding No. 2, are very conservative--they are gross statistics without regard to the limiting factors described in the introduction to the Findings Section of this report. Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island are examining the influences of these limiting factors and are trying to develop a weighting formula to account for them. Among these limiting factors are several that involve the loss of children from the sample or their "ineligibility" to be available for a later delinquency or ungovernability contact in this study. They report that this one factor alone, when taken into account, may mean that about 50% of the children in the 1950's sample had a later delinquency or ungovernability contact with the Family Court. Such factoring, moreover, would also increase the apparent inter-relationship by family, as described in Finding No. 2. (Appendix B describes the secondary analysis being performed by Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr.)

Table XIII summarizes the gross interrelationship data available for the whole sample:

Table XIII

Children With A Founded Child Protective And Juvenile Delinquency or Ungovernability Contacts - Entire 1950's Sample*

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law.	Suff.	West.
Boys	11%	26%	22%	32%	19%	27%	8%	13%
Girls	7%	16%	17%	24%	14%	8%	2%	8%

*See Appendix B, Table 1 and 2 for additional tables prepared by Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr.

The low figures in two counties, Broome and Suffolk, may reflect the destruction of records in those counties. In Broome county, the social service records on cases inactive since 1963 were destroyed, and in Suffolk County, the Family Court was destroyed by fire in 1957. Suffolk county also experienced the greatest population change and growth, going from a rural agricultural community to a suburban center. In Westchester county, social service records were also destroyed, but this seems to have had a lesser effect on the study; since all the court records were intact, this would indicate that a high percentage of the child protective cases in this county were referred to court, and the generally higher placement rates in the sample from this county would support this indication. The counties with low figures do not adversely affect the total average because the sample in these counties is relatively small.

Though the 1950's sample is almost evenly divided between boys and girls--51% boys and 49% girls--a much greater percentage of the boys were later reported to the Family Court as delinquent. This difference between boys and girls reflects the fact that considerably more boys than girls are charged with, and probably commit, delinquent acts. During the period of the study, about 90% of the juveniles charged with delinquency were boys. For example, in the judicial year 1967-68, 14,431 delinquency petitions were initiated against boys, while only 1,250 were initiated against girls.[18] At the same time, ungovernability cases were almost evenly divided between boys and girls. In the judicial year 1967-68, 54% of the ungovernability petitions were filed against boys, while 46% were filed against girls.[19] Because of the greater number of delinquency petitions, and the tremendous weighting of them towards boys, 78% of all the juvenile proceedings in the Family Court that year involved boys. Thus, it is no surprise that more boys than girls in the 1950's sample were later taken to court for juvenile misconduct.

There is some indication, however, that there is a higher association between maltreatment and delinquency among girls than boys. Though only 10% of the delinquency cases in the state involved girls, 22% of the children in the 1950's sample with maltreatment and delinquency contacts were girls. The distribution of ungovernability contacts among boys and girls in the 1950's sample is close to the sex composition of the entire sample. Table XIV summarizes this finding.

Comparison of Contacts By Sex

1950's Sample

	Boys	Girls
Total 1950's Sample	51%	49%
Maltreatment and Delinquency in 1950's Sample	78%	22%
Maltreatment and Ungovernability in 1950's Sample	48%	52%
Delinquency Court Cases in State, 1967-68	90%	10%
Ungovernability Court Cases in State, 1967-68	54%	46%

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Finding No. 4

In Three Counties, 35% of the Boys and 44% of the Girls Reported to a Court as Delinquent or Ungovernable in the Early 1970's Had Been Reported Previously as Abused or Neglected

Children who are reported as abused or neglected are a very small percentage of the population. Yet, the study of juveniles reported as delinquent or ungovernable in the early 1970's shows that 21% of the boys and 29% of the girls had been reported, when younger, as abused or neglected children. In three high contact counties, this relationship is much greater, averaging 35% for the boys and 44% for the girls. In Erie county, 41% of the boys and 36% of the girls had earlier contact with the child protective system; in Monroe county, 36% of the boys and 53% of the girls had such an earlier contact. In New York county, 31% of the boys and 45% of the girls had an earlier abuse or neglect contact. Thus, the small percentage of children who are reported as abused or neglected account for a significant part of the juvenile delinquency and ungovernability caseloads in the Family Courts of these communities.

The relationship figures for the 1970's sample varies from county to county much more than it did in the 1950's sample, and this variation does not coincide with the degree to which records had been preserved in the county or the population increased or decreased. For example, Kings county differs markedly from the other three high contact counties; the association between child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct is only about one third that of the other high contact counties. The enormous change in the population of Kings county may account for this.

Table XV

Children Reported As Delinquent or Ungovernable Who Had Been Reported Earlier As Maltreated

County	Percentage of Boys Reported As Abused or Neglected	Percentage of Girls Reported As Abused or Neglected
Broome	13.5%	16.7%
Erie	41.4%	35.6%
Kings	12.3%	18.4%
Monroe	36.3%	53%
New York	30.9%	44.6%
St. Lawrence	21.4%	40%
Suffolk	7.9%	10.9%
Westchester	17.3%	26.6%
Average	21.1%	28.7%

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This finding may seem puzzling in view of the findings in the 1950's sample. In the first sample, which began from the perspective of child abuse and neglect and then looked at what became of the children, the relationship between child maltreatment and later delinquency or ungovernability was one third greater among the boys. In the 1970's sample, which began from the perspective of delinquency or ungovernability and looked backward to where the children came from, the relationship is reversed. Among girls, the relationship is almost one third greater in the 1970's sample. In only one county, Erie county, was the relationship greater among the boys in the 1970's sample; 41% of the boys, and 36% of the girls had been reported earlier as abused or neglected.

One reason for the difference in the relationship between boys and girls may be the size of the sample. Unlike the 1950's sample of children reported as abused and neglected, the 1970's sample is not half boys and half girls; almost 78% of the children are boys, almost three times as many boys as girls. In terms of the children with a founded contact, that means the 1970's sample consists of 483 girls and 1272 boys. (139 boys and 66 girls had no founded contacts of any type.)

Perhaps the significantly smaller number of girls in the sample increases the chance that other contacts involving them will be found. The amount or type of screening that occurs before a juvenile is referred to court may also be different for boys and girls. To be referred to court, a girl's behavior or situation may have to be much worse than a boy's. The system's natural tendency to be more lenient towards girls in trouble may mean that in any sample of juvenile delinquents or ungovernable youth, the girls included in it would come from families with more severe, intractable problems--including a history of child maltreatment.

Finding No. 5

Delinquent Children Who Were Reported As Abused Or Neglected Tend To Be More Violent Than Other Delinquents

When the delinquency contacts in the 1970's sample are associated with prior abuse or neglect contacts, there is a greater association between violent delinquent acts and prior child maltreatment than non-violent delinquent acts and prior child maltreatment. The sample of some of these contacts is small, but not for most, and together, a clear pattern emerges. Homicide was less than two-tenths of a percent of all the delinquency contacts in the 1970's sample; yet, 29% of these homicide contacts were related to prior abuse or neglect contacts. Arson was slightly more than one percent of the delinquency contacts, but 24% of them were related to prior maltreatment contacts. Rape was less than five tenths of a percent of the delinquency contacts, but 29% of them were related to earlier maltreatment contacts. Assault was 12% of the delinquency referral reasons, but 22% of them were associated with earlier child maltreatment reports. Disorderly conduct--fighting--was slightly less than 4% of the delinquency contacts, but over 21% were related to prior abuse or neglect contacts. Possession of a dangerous weapon accounted for 2% of the delinquency referral reasons, but almost 20% were related to earlier maltreatment cases. Table XIX shows these differences.

Table XIX

Delinquency Referral Reasons	Total No. in 1970's Sample	Percentage in 1970's Sample[21]	Percentage Related to Prior Abuse or Neglect Contacts
Violent Acts			
Homicide	7	.21%	28.6%
Arson	46	1.3%	23.9%
Rape	14	.42%	28.6%
Other Sex Crimes	43	1.3%	11.6%
Assault	391	11.8%	22%
Disorederly Conduct	126	3.8%	21.4%
Possession of Dangerous Weapons	72	2.1%	19.4%
Acts Against A Person			
Robbery	515	15.5%	18.4%
Acts Against Property			
Burglary	661	20%	19.2%
Auto Theft	180	5.4%	9.9%
Unauthorized Use of Auto	105	3.1%	26.7%
Larceny	471	14.2%	16.3%
Malicious Mischief	247	7.4%	14.6%
Unlawful Entry	139	4.2%	10.8%
Receiving Stolen Property	74	2.2%	13.5%
Possession of Burglar's Tools	19	.57%	47.4%

Victimless Acts			
Narcotics	198	5.9%	13.1%
Gambling	2	.06%	0
Unlawful Assembly	2	.06%	0

This trend often counters the distribution of delinquency referral reasons in the sample, though the variation in the number of referral reasons for some violent acts, such as homicide and rape, and such non-violent acts as possession of burglar's tools, may, in part, be accounted for by their relatively small number. But the violent categories with a large number of referral reasons--assault and disorderly conduct, which includes fighting--show a pattern of relatively high relationship--over 20%. Robbery and Burglary, which both have a potential of leading to violence--robbery more so since it involves a personal confrontation with the victim, a mugging for example--fall in between. The bulk of the non-violent acts against property have a relationship of 16% or less.

All of this implies that delinquent children who were involved in child abuse or neglect contacts are somewhat different from delinquent children who were not reported as abused or neglected. They are "over-represented" among the group of juveniles who commit, or are charged with committing, violent acts. A larger sample of juveniles charged with the most serious violent acts, homicide, rape, and arson, would be useful to see whether the very high association rate would remain or dissipate. Some studies based on interviews suggest that the correlation would remain high, but they too are based on a small sample.[22]

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Finding No. 6

Child Maltreatment Cannot Be Used As An Indicator Or Predictor Of A Particular Type Of Juvenile Misconduct

Though the study of the 1950's sample confirms that there is a relationship between child abuse or neglect and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability, it also indicates that almost any type of child maltreatment can lead to any type of later behavioral problems with no clear pattern of predictability. Not every child reported as abused or neglected was later reported as delinquent or ungovernable. A childhood with maltreatment may predispose a child towards later delinquency or ungovernability more than a childhood without abuse or neglect, but other factors apparently help direct this predisposition toward a specific type of delinquency or ungovernability. An example of such a factor may be peer relationships with other juveniles or neighborhood environment. In many families reported for child maltreatment, only one or two children were later reported for juvenile misconduct; even children who experienced the environment of the same family, often at the same time, went in different directions as they passed through adolescence into adulthood.

This limitation on constructing a formula of predictability should be remembered by anyone tempted to use child maltreatment as a predictor of specific juvenile criminality. For example, the children in the 1950's sample who were later charged with homicide had been reported earlier--not as physically abused--but as neglected, as inadequately supervised. But most inadequately supervised children did not become murderers. Making predictions about the type of anti-social behavior to be expected of abused and neglected children is extremely risky--as are all behavioral predictions. Apparently, the experience of being abused or neglected as a child is more important and consequential than the type of maltreatment suffered.

The distribution of the delinquency referral reasons for children in the 1950's sample demonstrates the general lack of any predictability in the outcome of child maltreatment. This distribution is very similar to the distribution of all delinquency referral reasons in the general population. No special clustering is evident. The children in the 1950's sample did not get disproportionately involved in one or more types of delinquency. Table XVI compares the distribution of the prime delinquency referral reasons of the children in the 1950's sample with the distribution of all the delinquency referral reasons in the state in a year in which these children were involved themselves.[23]

Table XVI

Delinquency Referral Reason	Percentage of Referral Reasons in 1950's Sample	Percentage in State, 1967-68 Judicial Year[24]
Homicide	.8%	.1%
Arson	2%	2%
Rape	.9%	1%
Other Sex Crimes	1.6%	1%
Narcotics Violation	1.1%	2%
Robbery	8.6%	10%
*Burglary	19.8%	10%
Assault	13.7%	14%
Auto Theft	4.6%	6%
Unauthorized Use of Auto	2.7%	6%
Larceny, Not Auto	19.5%	16%
Possession of Dangerous Weapons	1.9%	2%
*Malicious Mischief	11.6%	5%
Unlawful Entry	5.5%	3%
Possession of Burglar's Tools	.2%	1%
Gambling	0	.1%
Receiving Stolen Property	1%	1%
Unlawful Assembly	.5%	.3%
Disorderly Conduct	3.9%	2%

The general lack of any significant difference between the delinquency contacts of the children in the 1950's sample and the general population of delinquency contacts is readily apparent. In most categories, the distribution is almost exact. Burglary and malicious mischief appear to be the categories with a noteworthy difference. This difference may be either a result of the sample design or a variation in the general pattern without any true significance. A possible psychological explanation is that these types of delinquency--acts against property--are attention getting activities.

A comparison of the ungovernability contacts of the children in the 1950's sample with the general distribution of all such contacts in the state shows a similar agreement in distribution. Table XVII compares them.

Table XVII

[illegible]ability [illegible] Offense [illegible]ason	Percentage of Referral Reasons in 1950's Sample	Percentage in State, 1967-68 Judicial Year
[illegible] From Home	20.3%	21%
[illegible]	33.1%	21%
[illegible]	26.2%	22%
[illegible]	11.7%	2%
[illegible]	3.9%	9%
[illegible] Companions	1.8%	5%
[illegible]	1.5%	2%
[illegible]	1%	1%
[illegible]	.4%	1%

Again, as with the delinquency referral reasons, the distribution of them among the contacts in the 1950's sample and the general population is very similar. The difference in truancy and sexual misconduct may just reflect fluctations that would occur for reasons unrelated to the behavior of children. The possibility of attention getting behavior among the children with these contacts may be very real. It is noteworthy that there is not a higher percentage of running away from home among the sample of abused and neglected children. Acting out behavior such as truancy and sexual misconduct may be a desperate attempt to provoke love or caring from indifferent parents. Sexual misconduct may be a misguided way of searching for love or affection; adult promiscuity is often similarly motivated, and there is no reason to assume it does not serve the same function for adolescents who feel unloved.

To double check that there is no special pattern in the delinquency or ungovernability contacts of the children in the 1950's sample, another test was made. A comparison was made between the distribution of the child abuse or neglect referral reasons in the sample with the distribution of those associated with later delinquency or ungovernability. Again, the pattern reflected no special relationships other than the distribution of child maltreatment referral reasons in the sample. The distribution of associated child maltreatment referral reasons is similar to the distribution of all child abuse and neglect referral reasons in the entire 1950's sample. Table XVIII shows this distribution, and Appendix K contains a detailed matrix showing the associations of each child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency referral reason in the sample.

Table XVIII

1950's Sample

Child Maltreatment Referral Reasons	% of All Contacts in Sample	% Related to Ungovernability Contacts	% Related Delinquency Contacts
Battered Child	.8%	.76%	.37%
Other Attacks	5.1%	8.6%	6.8%
Risk of Injury	1.4%	.76%	1.1%
Sexual Abuse	.9%	1.7%	.5%
Mental/Emotional Impairment	2.1%	2.6%	3%
Inadequate Food, Shelter, Clothing	21.9%	20%	20.6%
Malnutrition	.1%	0	.19%
Educational Neglect	2.5%	3%	4.7%
Medical Neglect	1.2%	.87%	1.4%
Abandonment	6.6%	5%	5.1%
Involuntary Parental Absence	2.6%	3.5%	5.9%
Parental Drug Use	.4%	.1%	.28%
Parental Alcoholism	11.8%	9.4%	8.3%

Parental Sexual Misconduct	4.5%	5.4%	3.1%
Parental Mental Illness	2.8%	3%	2.2%
Parental Fighting	2.6%	2%	2.6%
Inadequate Supervision	32.1%	27%	27.5%
Other	2.9%	4.7%	6.2%

This lack of predictability may disappoint those who like neat formulas, but it is important to know reality as it is, not as it may be pleasing to comprehend. The lack of a formula, in itself, is an important finding because of its implications for treatment. It means that no type of child maltreatment can be given less priority than another in long-range planning for the treatment of children and parents. Priorities are often set in the investigative stage because of the apparent, immediate danger to a child, but these priorities must end when treatment services are provided. Every abused and neglected child is in equal need of treatment services, and the potential social costs of ignoring any of these needs is equally great.

7

vices Were Provided To Abused And Neglected en or Their Families

sionals who treat abused and neglected children, amilies, recommend a wide range of rehabilitative help families overcome the problems that lead to reatment; in most cases, child abuse or neglect are symptoms of other problems, not isolated problems selves. Current understanding indicates that a complex on of personal, familial, and social, or situational, prompt parents to abuse or neglect their children. ic services such as counselling are used to help relieve distress of marital discord, and other forms of psycho- treatment are often recommended to help parents overcome rsonal problems. Other services are directed towards the current situation. Day care, homemaking, employment, and reational services are used to help parents manage the problems of daily living which confront many families rovoking child abuse or neglect.

need and utility of services to treat child abuse and re not entirely the product of recent wisdom. In the 0's, the provision of a complex array of services was ment ideal just as it is now. Vincent DeFrancis wrote use of services in 1955.[26] "Disregarding the infrequent or willful neglect, we know for the most part it is nal and is the product of the parent's inability to cope with a variety of personal and family problems." De Francis was quite specific about the types of services that should be provided to abused and neglected children and their parents.

> Obviously we cannot be expected to probe into the subconscious to reach down to experiences or incidents responsible for...personality disorders. That is a job for psychotherapists. For the most part as caseworkers we can deal only with the immediate problems of inadequacies which are the direct cause of the neglect.
>
> We have called these the "proximate causes of neglect." Unless there are symptoms of deep neurosis or psychosis, these proximate causes are the focal point of treatment.
>
> ...
>
> It is very difficult sometimes to distinguish between cause and effect. Arbitrarily, perhaps, we have chosen the more basic as causes. For example, inadequate housing may well be the cause for neglect. In this context, however, we have thought of it as an end result of some deeper problem, possibly a lack of sufficient finances. Other problems in this category would be non-support and unemployment; physical illness or disability, abandonment or desertion, separation, divorce, or death of a parent with the concomitant family breakdown.
>
> In the area of emotional problems we encounter the same difficulty in distinguishing cause and effect. As interpreted earlier we are thinking here of the emotional difficulties which are the direct causes for the neglect. We know that these causes themselves may be the products of deeper emotional tensions, stresses or problems. In this concept, we would identify emotional immaturity, emotional maladjustments, marital discord, mental deficiency, neurosis, psychosis, alcoholism, the emotional concomitants to separation, divorce, or death, and psychopathic personality.

Thus, the state of the art knowledge on the prevention and treatment of child abuse or neglect in the 1950's, and even today, few would disagree with it, though they might add to it. Yet, an analysis of the dispositions of the abuse and neglect contacts in the 1950's sample shows that the gulf between the treatment ideal and its implementation was enormous. Perhaps the most outstanding, if not shocking, finding of this study is the absolute paucity of services provided to children and families. Less than 7% of all the child protective contacts in the 1950's sample led to the provision of any services, and the chief service offered was casework supervision. Fewer than .1% of the contacts resulted in the provision of any other type of service. Table XIX summarizes this finding for each county.

Table XIX

1950's Sample[27]

Type of Service	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St.Law.	Suff.	West.
Supervision	13%	2%	4%	2%	15%	8%	11%	16%
Supervision and Other Services	.4%	.6%	.9%	0	0	0	0	.7%

Most of the child protective contacts of the children in the 1970's sample of delinquent and ungovernable children would, of course, come later than the protective contacts of the children in the 1950's sample. In the 1970's sample, the provision of services in child protective cases was also extremely low. 12% of these protective contacts led to supervision of the parents, and 1.2% led to the provision of some other type of service also. Thus, the difference is almost negligible, and may be due to the sampling method. The 1970's sample was drawn from a population of children reported to the Family Court as delinquent or ungovernable, and unlike the 1950's sample, does not represent either the complete child protective case load for a given year or a substantial part of it. It certainly does not present a picture of progress.

More recent data on the provision of child protective services indicates that current cases of suspected child abuse or neglect are not faring much better today in the receipt of needed services. Statistics released by the State Department of Social Services[28] show that the traditional reliance on case work supervision and placement as the prime protective service response is still very much alive. Two forms of case work supervision account for 44% of the services provided, and placement accounts for another 22%. The total adds up to slightly more than 100%--to 115%-- because some children received more than one service. Most of the overlap probably occurs with the children who received case work supervision plus one or more other services. Table XX summarizes the distribution of these services.

Table XX

36,629 Total Child Recipients With A Goal of 3 (Protective Services)

Adoption	3%
Adult Education	7%
Day Care	6%
Education	1%
Employment	2%
Family Planning	3%
Foster Care Adult	1%
Foster Care Children	22%
Health Related	5%
Home Management	4%
Homemaker	2%
Housekeeper	1%
Housing	3%
*Preventive	10%
Protective Adult	1%
*Protective Children	34%
Group/Senior Citizen	.8%
Social Adjustment	5%
Transportation	4%
Unmarried Parent	1%

*These are, essentially, two different classifications of case work supervision.

These figures do not come from the State Central Register of child abuse and maltreatment cases, and they do not portray the distribution of services to all families reported for suspected child abuse or neglect. Instead, they show the distribution of services given to children through Title XX in which protective services were designated as a treatment goal, which may include children not reported as abused or neglected. These figures are the only ones available at the moment, and they do confirm the trend that has prevailed for the last thirty or more years. They show that few services, other than placement or supervision, are being provided to children and families who are considered in need of protective services as defined in Title XX procedures. The gap between defined, recognized need and the actual delivery of services is still immense.

The lack of services has an important bearing on the other findings of this study. It means that little, if anything, was attempted to undo the effects of abuse or neglect on the children, and that little, if anything, was done to alter the home environment in which the children lived. Yet, 79% of the child protective reports in the 1950's sample were considered to be "founded"--or in some way accurate. Thus, for most of the children and families in the 1950's sample, the child protective intervention had little impact on their lives, and the same can be said of the children in the 1970's sample who had been reported as abused or neglected earlier in their lives. It would seem that protective services is generally limited to stopping a recurrence of abuse or neglect, and that even these efforts do not conform to the state-of-the-art knowledge of the time.

Finding No. 8

Most of the Founded Child Protective Contacts Ended in No Action

62% of the contacts led to no further action. The high rate of "no further action" is not a sign that the contacts were inaccurate or false reports. 79% of the protective contacts were founded, and another 4% involved families or children who were already "active" with an agency or court. Yet, 69% of the child protective contacts in the 1950's sample resulted in no change in the child's status--the child remained in the same home without any services being provided. Another 6.9% of the contacts resulted in supervision or services for the family whose child remained in the home. Thus, in the 1950's sample, about 75% of the child protective contacts led to no change in the child's status, and little, if any, change in his circumstances.

5.4% of the protective contacts led to the change in custody of the child, though the child remained in a home, either a different parent's or another relative's. Interestingly, in one county Westchester, 33.2% of all the protective contacts in the 1950's sample in that county lead to a change in custody. No other county comes near that level of switching custody for reasons that are unclear. Sometimes child protective reports are made by parents seeking to strengthen a custody case, and it is possible that such a pattern of reporting existed in this county.

The removal of endangered children from their homes has long been an integral part of child protective work. When protective agencies were first established a century ago, removal was the main emphasis, and even today it is often the only image provoked by the thought of protecting abused and neglected children. It is generally believed that the less punitive emphasis of keeping children in their own homes is a recent development. The study of children reported as abused or neglected in the early 1950's shows that this philosophy was already in operation then.

In the 1970's sample of children reported as delinquent or ungovernable, the disposition of the child protective contacts shows a similar pattern as in the 1950's sample. 61.3% of these protective contacts led to the child remaining in his own home, and another 9.4% ended up in the home of a different parent or another relative. The slightly different distribution of the protective contacts in the 1950's and the 1970's sample may reflect the different way in which each sample was identified.

Table XXI shows this data for the 1950's sample, and Table XXII shows it for the 1970's sample, for each county. (See Appendicies D and E for breakdown of all dispositions for abuse and neglect by county.)

Table XXI

Non-Placement Disposition of Child Protective Contacts--1950's Sample

Disposition*	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law.	Suff.	West.
Child In Same Home	43%	83%	56%	74%	75%	36%	64%	34%
Child With Different Parent	.4%	1%	2%	1%	2%	3%	8%	27%
Child With Other Relative	5%	.3%	3%	3%	2%	0	3%	6%
Total[19]	48%	84%	61%	78%	79%	39%	75%	67%

Table XXII

Non-Placement Disposition of Child Protective Contacts--1970's Sample

Disposition*	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law.	Suff.	West.
Child in Same Home	56%	75%	61%	59%	55%	67%	93%	40%
Child With Different Parents	4%	4%	0	4%	9%	0	7%	10%
Child With Other Realtives	4%	0	7%	7%	6%	0	0	0
Total	64%	79%	68%	70%	70%	67%	100%	50%

*These figures do not total 100% because the figures for placements and other dispositions are discussed in other findings. See finding No. 9 for figures on placements. All of the dispositions are listed in tables in Appendix

Averages of Non-Placement Dispositions of Child Protective Contacts

Child Status	1950's Sample	1970's Sample
In Same Home	75%	61%
With Different Parents	3%	5%
With Other Relatives	2%	5%

Finding No. 9

The Placement Rate in Child Neglect Cases Was Higher Than in Child Abuse Cases, Indicating That Neglect is a More Intractable Problem

Abuse and neglect have been considered either as part of a continuum or as entirely different problems. In both views, however, abuse is usually treated as more serious than neglect, which has not received the public and professional attention that has been given to neglect.[29] Given the prevailing opinion that abuse is more severe than neglect, one finding of the study may seem strange: the percentage of neglect contacts leading to placement was higher than the percentage of abuse contacts leading to placement. 16% of the abuse contacts resulted in placement, but 20.3% of the neglect contacts ended in placement. Table XXIII shows the differences in placement rates in each county in the 1950's sample.

Table XXIII[30]

Placement Rates in 1950's Sample

Contacts	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law.	Suff.	West.
Abuse	14%	9%	16%	20%	15%	55%	5%	24%
Neglect	47%	16%	21%	14%	19%	59%	16%	41%

A five percent difference seems small, but it is a 20% variation among all the child protective placements recorded in the study. This finding indicates that neglect may be more difficult to treat than abuse, that protective agencies find abuse more amenable to treatment. As the major study on child neglect indicates, neglect "is chronic, pervasive, resistant to specific treatment, and transmitted in intergenerational cycles."[31]

Norman Polansky has argued eloquently that child neglect has not been studied to the extent that it deserves as a problem in itself. This finding supports his contention that neglect is difficult to treat, and it calls for greater study. It also serves as a reminder that neglect, in most states, accounts for 85% or more of the child protective caseload. In New York State, it did during the years being studied, and it does now. Children reported as neglected instead of abused have a greater chance of being placed in foster care or institutional care as a consequence.

Moreover, it has been suggested that neglect may have a higher social cost than abuse. Paul Glasser and Charles Garvin[32] have compared the family characteristics associated with abuse, neglect, ungovernability, and delinquency. They found similar patterns of family dysfunction in both abuse and ungovernability cases, while the dysfunction in neglect and delinquency cases were also similar to each other. The patterns were more similar between abuse and ungovernability, or neglect and delinquency, than between abuse and neglect or ungovernability and delinquency.

It seems clear that the implications of this finding demand further study and ultimate translation into programmatic policy making. They are yet another reminder that both abuse and neglect are equally serious and require an equal treatment commitment from professionals and communities.

Finding No. 10

The Placement Rate for Ungovernability Was Higher Than for Juvenile Delinquency, Indicating that Ungovernability is a More Intractable Problem

In the 1970's sample, the placement rate for ungovernability was almost twice the rate for delinquency. 19.4% of the ungovernability contacts led to placement, while only 11.3% of the delinquency contacts led to a similar placement. Similar to the greater seriousness usually attributed to abuse over neglect situations, delinquency is usually considered a more serious offense than ungovernability--it is, after all, criminal activity of juveniles. Yet, a substantially higher percentage of ungovernable children were placed as a result of their contact with the Family Court. The explanation is, probably, that ungovernable children are "beyond the lawful" control of their parents, who may also not want them, and thus placement becomes the only alternative for them--unless the Court were to insist that the parents care for them. But if the Court did so and the parents refused, the court would then have to declare the parents neglectful and place the children under a different label.

The placement rate for ungovernability and delinquency varied from county to county, as shown in Table XXIV.[33]

Table XXIV

Placement Rate For Each Contact

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law.	Suff.	West.
vernability cts	35.4%	12%	17.4%	11.2%	35.9%	14.3%	1.2%	10.5%
nquency cts	29.9%	8.6%	8.5%	4.9%	20.2%	8.3%	2.1%	4.8%

Interestingly, this data contradicts the belief that officials and Family Court judges upstate are "tougher" on juvenile delinquents. The placement rate for delinquency was greatly lower in Erie, Monroe, St. Lawrence, Suffolk, and Westchester counties than in New York County. Kings county was just about the same as Erie and St. Lawrence counties, and Broome county had the highest placement rate. Suffolk county had, by far, the lowest placement rate. This implies that a juvenile accused of a delinquent act has a much greater chance of being placed if he lives in Broome or New York counties.

The placement rates for ungovernability were also much higher than for delinquency in the 1950's sample--about one third greater. Table XXV shows these rates for each county. (See Appendix D for a detailed breakdown of the dispositions of the 1950's sample, and Appendix E for the dispositions of the contacts in the 1970's sample.)

Table XXV

Placement Rates for 1950's Sample Juvenile Contacts

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St.Law.	Suff.	West.
Ungovernability	50%	31%	34%	27%	49%	40%	22%	35%
Delinquency	17%	19%	25%	23%	30%	25%	20%	28%

Average Totals

	1970's Sample	1950's Sample
Ungovernability	19%	34%
Delinquency	11%	23%

An interesting difference between the placement rate of juvenile contacts in the 1950's sample and the 1970's sample is the lower placements rate in the more recent sample. Whether this is a feature of how the samples were constructed or reflects an actual change in the policy of placing juvenile offenders cannot be determined by the data collected. Some further analysis of the data is possible to determine whether the children involved in a protective contact have a higher rate of placement than other children named in delinquency or ungovernability case in the 1970's sample, and this is one of the issues that Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island plan to examine.

Finding No. 11

Children Reported As Abused or Neglected and Children Reported As Delinquent or Ungovernable Come From Similar Families, Which Are Significantly Different From the General Population

Researchers studying child abuse and juvenile delinquency have argued that various aspects of family composition affect these two problems. A repeated finding in child abuse research, Richard Gelles[34] observed, is the positive association between child abuse and family size.[35] Many have suggested that pregnancies occurring before marriage or early in a marriage may reflect an unwanted pregnancy or create a severe stress on an already stressful relationship. And, premarital pregnancies, unwanted pregnancies and children born out-of-wedlock have been shown to be associated with child abuse.[36] Finally, abused children have been shown to come disproportionately from female-headed households.[37] A study of New York City delinquency and ungovernability cases[38] found that 52% of the children came from a one parent family, and that another 16% came from families in which the mother was living with a boyfriend. 28% of the children were born out-of-wedlock.

The families in both the 1950's and 1970's samples, which were identified for different reasons, share certain basic characteristics in common, which distinguish them markedly from most families living in the same communities. In general, these families were larger, had a greater percentage of illegitimate children, and were "one parent" households with either parent missing. Families belonging to minority groups appear to be "over-represented," even though almost 60% of the 1950's sample were white children.

The demographic data on the children and families in both samples give a picture of dysfunctional, multi-problem families which probably did not fit easily into the normal life of their communities. Regardless of the reported child maltreatment or juvenile misbehavior, many of them could have otherwise been considered families in trouble--children and parents who needed help to overcome a variety of problems.

The families in both samples were larger than the average. According to the 1950 Census, only 12% of all American families with children had four or more children, but 42% of the families in the 1950's sample were at least that large--almost three and a half times greater than the national average. According to the 1970 Census, only 16% of the families in New York state had four or more children, but 53% of the families in the 1970's sample were at least that large. In the 1970's sample, 10% of the families had eight or more children, while only 2.5% of the families in the United States were so large. (See Appendix P for tables listing all this data for each county and each sample.

A positive association between family size and child abuse appears to be a consistent finding in the child abuse research.[39] In Table XXVI this consistent finding is confirmed by the sample data. When compared to the general population of the eight counties studied, the families in the sample of maltreated children are always twice as large, and often as much as three times as large, as the average family size in the communities in which they live.

It appears that the data presented here support the previously found association between family size and child abuse. But Table XXVI goes further by suggesting that coming from a large family may increase the chances of being officially in contact with official agencies over a longer time and for more types of contacts--both maltreatment and juvenile offenses. Perhaps, large families are more known and visible and therefore more likely to come to official attention for any given type of behavior. Or, possibly large families are simply more stressful social settings.

Table XXVI

Average Population Per Household[40]

	In the General Population, 1950	For the Total 1950 Sample Children	For 1950 Sample Children With Maltreatment Contacts and	
			JD Contacts	PINS Contacts
Broome	3.35	5.84 (281)	5.14 (14)	5.11 (9)
St. Lawrence	3.63	9.02 (101)	8.36 (14)	- (1)
Suffolk	3.31	5.29 (308)	4.78 (9)	6.67 (9)
Westchester	3.40	5.08 (475)	5.30 (30)	6.48 (27)
Subtotal	NA	5.66 (1165)	5.84 (67)	6.50 (46)
Erie	3.42	7.52 (1290)	7.81 (167)	8.17 (149)
Kings	3.36	7.39 (625)	7.63 (67)	7.66 (59)
Monroe	3.26	7.64 (545)	8.04 (80)	7.52 (97)
New York	2.80	6.13 (838)	7.02 (54)	6.74 (68)
Subtotal	NA	7.16 (3298)	7.71 (368)	7.66 (373)
Total	NA	6.77 (4463)	7.42 (435)	7.53 (419)

The greatest difference between the families in both samples and the general population is in the large percentage of children born out-of-wedlock. In the 1950's sample, the rate of illigitimate births is 450% higher than the national average, and in the 1970's sample it is 261% greater. 18% of the children in the 1950's sample were born out-of-wedlock, while the national average was 4% from 1940 until 1955. 13% of the children in the 1970's sample were born out-of-wedlock, while the national average from 1955 to 1960 was 4.9%.

It has been argued that children born out-of-wedlock are more likely to be abused than other children. Table XXVI clearly shows a disproportionate number of children in the 1950 sample were born out-of-wedlock, when compared with children in the general population of these eight counties. And, in low contact counties this is even more apparent: more than three times as many children were born out-of-wedlock among those with maltreatment contacts than in the general population. (Appendix N summarizes this data by county for each sample.) Table XXVII summarizes the out-of-wedlock status of children in the 1950's sample and the general population of each county.

Table XXVII

Percent Born Out-of Wedlock[41]

	In the General Population	In the Total 1950 Sample	Among Children With Maltreatment Contacts and	
			PINS Contacts	JD Contacts
Broome	3%	16% (274)	0% (9)	0% (14)
St. Lawrence	4	13 (101)	- (1)	21 (14)
Suffolk	2	12 (307)	11 (9)	0 (9)
Westchester	5	20 (471)	11 (27)	13 (30)
Subtotal	NA	16 (1153)	9 (46)	10 (67)
Erie	5	12 (1276)	9 (149)	14 (167)
Kings	8	19 (624)	14 (58)	10 (67)
Monroe	6	21 (539)	23 (96)	28 (79)
New York	18	27 (836)	43 (68)	24 (54)
Subtotal	NA	19 (3275)	20 (371)	18 (367)
Total	NA	18 (4428)	19 (417)	17 (434)

In high contact counties, the evidence generally suggests only that being born out-of-wedlock increases the probability of having official contact for maltreatment. With the exception of children in New York county with maltreatment contacts and ungovernability contacts, children with both types of contacts are no more likely to have been born out-of-wedlock. Children with both maltreatment and juvenile contacts are, however, about as likely as other maltreated children, or their siblings, to be born out-of-wedlock.

In New York county is is interesting to speculate about why it is children with maltreatment and PINS contacts, and not maltreatment and JD contacts who are much more likely to be born out-of-wedlock. Perhaps, status offenses are typical of children not just born out-of-wedlock, not just children of unwanted pregnancies, but truly unwanted children.

Large families, of course, in themselves are not harmful, even though the trend, or fashion, recently has been towards small ones; they may even be healthier than one child families. Moreover, many people believe that the stigma of "illegitimacy" is more harmful than the simple fact in itself. But these situations can be a sign of trouble when they occur in conjunction with other events. The data from both samples, though especially the 1950's sample, shows that a large percentage of the families were missing one parent. In the 1950's sample, 40% of the children did not have a father living with them, and 15% did not have a mother living with them. The data on the 1970's sample is less conclusive because it was not known for about 40% of the children; the 1970's sample was comprised of delinquent and ungovernable children, and this data apparently was not considered as important as it is in child protective cases. It was not recorded in many case records. Where available the data indicates that 28% of the children came from a home without a father, while 7% had no mother living with them. The combination of large families, illegitimate births--which often means different fathers for each of the children--and one parent families has important consequences for parents and children, as well as the community in which they live.

We have become more conscious of racial and ethnic influences and discrimination than ever before in our history, and we are more willing to attribute motivations to these differences. There is a temptation to do so with the data in this study. Though 58% of the 1950's sample, in which ethnicity is known, is white,[42] 21% of the children were black and 6% were Hispanic, at a time when non-whites accounted for only 6.5% of the population of the state. (See Appendix O for detailed tables by county.) In the 1970's sample in which 39% of the children were white, 31% were black and 12% were Hispanic when only 13% of the population was non-white. It should be noted that 85% of the Hispanic children in the 1950's sample lived in New York County (Manhattan), while 34% of the black children lived in Kings county. (19% of the Black children lived in Kings county and another 19% lived in Erie County.) In the 1970's sample, 91% of the Hispanic children and 57% of the black children lived in New York County. Only in St. Lawrence county are the proportion of whites in the sample about equal to the proportion of whites living in the county.

Thus, one could easily say that non-whites are "over-represented" in both the 1950's and the 1970's samples. This would mean that non-whites were "over-represented" in the reports of suspected child abuse and neglect in the early 1950's and reports of alleged delinquency and ungovernability in the early 1970's. The possible significance of this apparent fact is difficult to assess, given the high proportion of large, broken, one parent families in both studies. It is very possible that these problems had more to do with the situations that led to the children being reported as abused, neglected, ungovernable, or delinquent than any other characteristic of their families, including race. It is also possible that the non-white families in the counties studied had a higher incidence of such family dysfunction; "over-representation" cannot be claimed unless these other factors are known. (Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr plan to examine this aspect of the data collected.)

Saying that a group is "over-represented" sounds like an important discovery--it even sounds like an accusation. But it only means something when the true level of incidence of a problem like child abuse or juvenile delinquency within that group is known--not the level of reporting, but the true level of incidence. A group can only be "over-representated" if it is being reported out of proportion to the incidence within it. Even if it is being reported frequently, and out of proportion to its size in the general population, it is not being "over-represented" in reporting if the level of incidence within it is correspondingly high. Of course, knowing the true level of incidence of a social problem within each group in our society is not within the grasp of our knowledge and data gathering techniques. The true level of incidence of child abuse, for example, is not even known, though it is debated, for the entire society, let alone a segment of that society.

Much has been said in the debate about the role of poverty in child abuse and neglect situations that are reported to protective agencies and the courts. It is generally believed that most official cases of child maltreatment involve impoverished families; similarly, it is generally held that many, if not most, juvenile delinquents or ungovernable children grew up in families at the lower socio-economic levels of our society. Despite the importance often attached to these arguments, the official records of child maltreatment and juvenile offense cases generally did not include any information about the economic status of the child's family. Sometimes there might be a reference to a family receiving public assistance, but in general most case records were mute on the issue. Apparently, the socio-economic status of children and families is not considered important enough to be recorded in these records, and, one must assume, to be considered in devising treatment plans. It should be noted, however, that whatever the merits of this debate, most impoverished families do not abuse and neglect their children or produce juvenile delinquents. It is unfair to the many impoverished but devoted parents in our society to assume that they are not successful parents. They are just as loving and successful as any other parents in our society.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study confirm that there is an empirical relationship between child abuse or neglect and later socially deviant behavior. Since the data in the study is "time-ordered," which means there is a demonstrable sequence of protective service contacts followed by juvenile justice contacts, the study certainly suggests that child maltreatment leads to later juvenile misbehavior. Yet, it is not clear whether it is possible to prove that child abuse or neglect causes juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. Not all maltreated children become behavior problems as juveniles, and not all delinquent or ungovernable children were abused or neglected when younger. Moreover, in most systems of logic attributing causation to temporal sequence is a fallacy.

One fact is resoundingly clear: a considerable percentage of children, as seen in both the 1950's and the 1970's sample, were abused or neglected and reported as delinquent or ungovernable when they were older. An important implication of this study is that the relationship between child abuse or neglect and later socially deviant behavior is more complicated than a simple cause and effect assocition, and that this complexity raises many questions about how we are responding to the problems of child maltreatment, juvenile crime, and family dysfunction.

An important factor in the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile misbehavior, highlighted in this study, is the amazing lack of services provided to most children and families. Though human behavior is difficult to change, and undoing the emotional consequences of child maltreatment may be even more difficult and unappealing, little effort was made to even try to help children and parents.[43] Except for families involved in special or experimental programs, which can reach only a small fraction of the child protective caseload, there is no reason to suppose that things are any better now than during the time under study. The complaint that we have improved reporting laws but few services are available to respond to new cases is almost universal. Even allowing for the recent developments that have occurred in child protection, the state-of-the-art system described by Vincent De Francis in 1955 exists more on paper than in reality. One must wonder whether reality has made any additional advances since then, despite the changes in the current state-of-the-art knowledge about what works and what is needed.

In both samples in the study, the prime services provided, if they are to be called that, were either placement or casework supervision, and for most cases, nothing else. It is possible, of course, that the families involved needed nothing else, but the outcome in terms of the later problems of many of the children indicates that more was needed, unless the children and parents are going to be discarded as hopeless. The criticism that child protective services does not do much for the child--that it is oriented towards helping the parents--is not a novel perception, but it is true. Most services, most child protective efforts, are directed towards getting the parents to stop the abuse or neglect. Little is done to help the child overcome the experience of being abused or neglected. Dr. C. Henry Kempe summed up the situation in these words:

> It is a fascinating question to consider why it is that during the past seventy years of active protective services work on behalf of troubled families, the focus of treatment, and indeed of diagnosis, has been upon the mother rather than on each member of the family, but it is not surprising. For one thing, the mother was more readily available to a social worker who was beginning to provide diagnostic and treatment services to a family while the father was at work during the time the social worker was available. Moreover, the philosophy of protective services for the past fifty years has been very much geared to the feelings that if a mother could be helped to be more competent or more loving to her child, or able to stabilize her marriage, even though the father might be the primary abuser, that good things would of necessity happen in regards to the abused child and the other children in the family. It is not surprising, therefore, that while there is an extensive literature on case work with mothers, there is much less on work with fathers and virtually nothing on the abused child. [44]

Numerous studies have chronicled the psychological, as well as the physical, effects of child maltreatment. One found that 40% of the abused children studied were emotionally disturbed.[45] Another found that both abused and neglected children were significantly more impaired in ego competency, self-concept, body image, reality testing, defensive functioning, object relations, and basic thought processess; they also had greater levels of aggression, low impulse control, anxiety, and self-destructiveness.[46] In a study of 101 abused children, nearly 70% were found to be below normal in physical and emotional development.[47] It is natural to assume that abuse will provoke aggression in a child, but there has also been some indication that neglect can lead to serious behavioral consequences. James Prescott has written that he belives "that the deprivation of body touch, contact, and movement are the basic causes of a number of emotional disturbances which include depressive and autistic behavior, hyperactivity, sexual aberration, drug abuse, violence, and aggression."[48] He has backed up his belief with intensive neurological research. The findings from the 1950's sample indicate that child neglect can have the same serious consequences as child abuse for the child's later behavior.

Abused and neglected children need mental health services to undo the emotional damage of child maltreatment. There does not seem to be any doubt that child abuse and child neglect evoke aggressive feelings in children, which are either directed inward or outward. Like all feelings, this hostility will be expressed, in one way or another, and the chance is that it will take the form of anti-social behavior. (See Search of Literature in Appendix A.) Inhibited aggression, or aggression turned against oneself, which has been frequently described in abused children, eventually reaches a point where it breaks through in a violent rage. Yet, not many abused or neglected children received mental health services, despite evidence that they are effective,[49] especially if the children are reached when they are very young. As one study concluded:

> Abused children have the capacity to make changes. The younger they are, the more resiliancy they have. Children between the ages of two and four in the therapeutic day care setting, will make more changes and at a faster rate, than children between the ages of four and eight seen in play therapy once or twice a week. This pilot study has demonstrated that it takes quite some time to establish a trusting alliance with an abused child. For that reason, short term therapy has significant limitations. However, other modalities such as intensive, short-term, daily contact might result in quicker progress. [50]

Psychotherapy alone, of course, would not be enough. As the data from both the 1950's and 1970's samples indicate, the families from which both abused or neglected and delinquent or ungovernable children come tend to suffer from a range of other problems. Though the study does not prove that child abuse causes juvenile delinquency, it leads to an even more important conclusion: child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct are products of a common family environment. They are shared symptoms of the deeper problems afflicting families and children.[51] Other studies, such as Paul Glasser's and Charles Garvin's paper, point to the same conclusion. We can expect additional studies in the future to add a mountain of evidence to document and explain the perceptions which social workers, psychologists, and family court judges have discussed over the years--that family dysfunction and parental inadequacy are deeply related to the problems of child abuse or neglect and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. A chicken or the egg discourse on which comes first--this could become quite complicated and inconclusive when the multi-generational aspects of these problems were addressed--would probably be less helpful than the development of family oriented services.

The demographic data on the families in both the 1950's and 1970's sample, graphically depict the inordinate dimensions of the family breakdown experienced by children reported as abused, neglected, ungovernable, or delinquent. Services and treatment approaches must be oriented towards the family as a whole. In the words of Brandt Steele, "Abuse and neglect must be understood as problems of interaction between members of a family." But in the system we have today, the family is not treated as a unit; instead services are offered piecemeal for a specific individual or a specific problem. Unrealistic distinctions have to be made to fit a family into a categorical program whose area of expertise or jurisdiction often conform to legislative or administrative mandates instead of the true needs of children and parents.

The legal distinctions made between the different categories assigned to children and families often are misleading and hinder treatment efforts. This is true not only in child protective services, but in the treatment of delinquency and ungovernability. The very words used to describe these children may be at fault. Many juveniles accused of delinquency could have been reported as abused or neglected--and often were. The apparent differences between delinquent and ungovernable acts are often unclear. The label or category assigned to a child appears to be more an accident of time and place than of any condition or behavior inherent in the child or family. Over the years, children are pushed through various systems with changing labels. The terms "abused child," "neglected child," "juvenile delinquent," or "ungovernable youth" frequently describe the same child or juvenile--or his brother or sister--during different stages of his early life.

These categories and distinctions were created by a system of categorical funding, usually initiated at the Federal level, and then duplicated at the local and state level to qualify for the Federal funds that become available. Over the years, an enormous hodge-podge of programs has been established to deal with various problems, or parts of problems. Every time a new problem is discerned, another program is created and funded without any reference to other programs that already exist; each new program became another lump on the pile. Sometimes someone is asked or required to coordinate the new with the old to avoid duplication, but coordination cannot solve the weaknesses built into a system that has developed by accretion over several decades of intense governmental action. The time has come to undertake the monumental task of examining the entire system of categorical programs in order to realign them with reality. This is not a task to be undertaken lightly, and it will upset established or vested interests who will fear the uncertainty of change. But it is necessary if children, parents, and families are going to be served and helped. If our goal is to help, this necessary re-examination cannot be postponed or ignored.

As they stand today, neither the child protective nor the juvenile justice systems are organized to deal with one of the major underlying causes of child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct--family and community disorganization and weakness. Thus, institutionalization becomes one of our prime treatment options, and, in terms of the system as it exists, it is a necessary option that has to be used with some frequency. Many children are institutionalized, not because they "need" or "deserve" it, but because there is no alternative when the environment from which the child comes is unsuitable. Non-institutional remedies to the problems of family breakdowns are needed, but as long as the existing system blinds us to the necessity of developing a full range of treatment services, as long as it binds us to the inadequate or unsuccessful formulas of the past, the needed improvements will not happen.

Services cost money, and that is another important obstacle to overcome. There is no indication from this study that short-term miracle cures will do. As another study noted: "clinical experience has already shown us that many abused children and their families need help years after the initial identification."[52] Many of the families in the study required intensive, long-term help--perhaps for a generation or more. In one sense, they got it in the form of repeated but intermittent involvements with the child protective or juvenile justice systems as individual problems were brought to the attention of agencies and courts. But there was no long-term commitment to supporting families with an organized array of services to help them overcome their problems. We must face the fact that some families will require this kind of help for a long period of time. It would probably be foolish to promise that money would be saved; legislators do not really believe that argument any more, unless they are inexperienced. Perhaps it could be pointed out that we seem more willing to spend the money on correctional services than on services to rehabilitate families. It all depends upon where we are going to place the major thrust of intervention; either it is early in the life of a child from a dysfunctional family or it is later when the child has grown up to be a social problem.

The Juvenile or Family courts that hear cases of child abuse or neglect and delinquency or ungovernability also need to be family-oriented; they are a part of both the child protective and juvenile justice systems. Though in theory they are used only as a last resort when all else fails, they are used, and they are limited by the types of services, if any, which are available to them. They too are affected by the categorical system of thinking. Attempts have been made to make courts more family-oriented, and an interesting approach was developed in Scotland after much public and professional examination of their judicial system for children and family problems.

As described by Professor Sanford Fox,[53] this system uses what is called a Children's Hearing to decide all cases in which a child "may be in need of compulsory measures of care." This would include situations that we label child abuse, child neglect, juvenile delinquency, and juvenile ungovernability. The focus is on the child's and family's need for help. From the beginning of the court process, including a strong attempt to resolve the situation without a hearing, the entire family of the child is involved. The parents are required to attend and participate in conferences and the hearing itself. The nature of this parental involvement reinforces the idea that the parent has a role and responsibility for his children, and the purpose of the pre-court conferences and the hearing itself is to devise a mutually acceptable plan to improve the situation. Everything that is considered in the hearing, including reports from social workers and agencies, is openly discussed with the child and parents. Professor Fox observed that "the level of involvement in the conversation by the child and his parents is qualitatively different from what, to my knowledge, is achieved when the juvenile and his family stand before a judge." Whether or not such a system could be implemented in our country, it is important to realize that even a court can function in terms of family instead of an individual child or parent.

The effect of the "children's hearing" in the Scottish juvenile court is to erase the distinctions made by categorical labels, and to look at a child or family as in trouble and needing help, and if a court can do this, there is no reason that social agencies cannot either, provided the underlying legal framework is modified to allow it. This does not mean that we can make the problems of child abuse, child neglect, juvenile delinquency, and youthful ungovernability disappear--or that we can end family dysfunction. But we can deal with them more effectively than we have been dealing with them; we can create a system that at least has a chance of reaching some of the underlying problems that lead to child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct. For, perhaps, the greatest finding of the study is that these problems all come from a common family environment, and that problems which are family oriented in nature can only be treated by recognizing the role played by the family and the problems confronting some families in our society.

The family dysfunction and parental inadequacy that blights the families in which child maltreatment or juvenile misconduct occur can no longer be ignored. Twenty years ago, when the children in this study were being processed through the child protective and juvenile justice systems of their communities, a juvenile court judge wrote about the problems and the children she had seen after adjudicating 30,000 cases. Titling her book "Other People's Children," she wrote:

> In spite of all that has been said and written on the subject of juvenile delinquency, there is little understanding of the problems of the children who are called juvenile delinquents. Lurid headlines and sensational newspaper accounts play up the superficial aspects of the subject, while the real story of what goes on in the hearts and minds of youthful offenders remains untold.
>
> ...
>
> Perhaps these are other people's children, not yours or mine, or even our neighbors'. But the time has passed when we can ignore their troubles. Just as we now know that smallpox in the slums constitutes a danger to the homes in our garden districts, so do we know that human failure, whether it be in high places or hovels, affects us, our families, our communities, and ultimately the nation. [54]

Twenty years later, few people would quarrel with what the judge wrote or deny that her statement is still true. The time for action has arrived. Enough is known to reshape the systems we have developed to help families and children in trouble. The child protective system in many communities has been recently upgraded and given new stature, while the juvenile justice system has often turned out to be a disappointment to those who worked so hard to establish it. All of the disparate systems that affect children and parents must be reexamined and redirected to deal with the total reality of the problems that afflict families, children, and parents.

A study such as this one, of course, raises more questions than it answers, and it cannot give us a blueprint for what must be done. It can clairfy our thinking and point out the choices that face us. It can tell us that the consequences of child maltreatment are more serious than we would probably like to imagine--that if we do not help children in trouble, they will grow up to make trouble. Child abuse and neglect are not isolated problems unrelated to the life of families and our society; the comforting thought that they afflict only someone else is an illusion that must be discarded. The effort to help maltreated children, in the end, unites the forces of compassion and common sense in our society. Yet, though the study points out the direction that lies ahead, it cannot compel us to begin the journey. That is something that we, as a society, must decide, and this study gives us some verified facts to help us decide. The task ahead is the responsibility of both professionals and the public; without their mutual support, its achievement will not be possible.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lynch, Margaret, "The Follow-up of Abused Children--A Researcher's Nightmare," pg. 5, paper presented at the Second World Conference of the International Society of Family Law, June 13-17, 1977. The title of the conference was Violence in the Family.

2. Until last year, the Office of Court Administration statistics were based on a year beginning on July first and ending on June thirtieth.

3. The Office of Court Administration figures for a year include all the petitions that were filed in a given year and were disposed of by the time the statistics were gathered. A data card is filed on each case after it has been completed; the slight variations in the distribution of cases in the sample and all cases in the state are probably due to the delay in entering this data, as well as fluctuations between counties.

4. Report of the Administrative Board of the Judicial Conference of the State of New York for the Judicial Year July 1, 1971 Through June 30, 1972, p. 364. These figures are for boys only; girls were the subject of 85 petitions alleging one of the referral reasons on this list--an insignificant number.

5. Ibid, p. 357. The state figures for PINS combine boys and girls, unlike the same figures for delinquency.

6. *1950 Census of Population, Vol. 2, Characteristics of the Population*, Part 32, New York, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, pp. 142-152, and *Child Protective Services in New York State*: 1976 Annual Report, New York State Department of Social Services, Table 16.

7. Only the counties from which a full year's or a computable partial year's protective caseload were obtained are included. Kings and New York counties are combined because the available 1976 figure is for New York City as a whole.

8. Morris & Hawkins, The Honest Politican's Guide to Crime Control (1970).

9. HEW Children's Bureau, Juvenile Court Statistics 1972, at 8 (Table 2) (1974).

10. Martin, H.P., Beezley, P., Conway, E.S., and Kempe, H.C., "The Development of Abused Children," Advances in Pediatrics, 21, 1974, pp. 25-73.

11. Birrell, R.G., and Birrell, J.H.W., "The Maltreatment Syndrome in Children: A Hospital Survey," Medical Journal of Australia, 2, 1968, pp. 1023-1029.

12. Friedman, S.B., and Morse, C.W., "Child Abuse: A Five Year Follow-up of Early Case Finding in the Emergency Department," Pediatrics, 54, 1974, pp. 404-410.

13. The high founded rate in Monroe County--only one child was not found abused or neglected in the sample year--was double checked to make sure the records on unfounded cases had not been destroyed. The officials now and from the past reported that all records were preserved, which agrees with the condition of the records observed by project staff in the course of the study. Since the high founded rate applied to both court and protective agency contacts, one can only conclude that it was either a bad year for children or that stringent standards were used, which seems more probable. It should also be kept in mind that the founded rate for the entire 1950's sample is rather high.

14. These are the years during which the children in the 1950's sample had most of their delinquency or ungovernability contacts.

15. The delinquency rate was computed from the Census Report for 1950, 1960, and 1970, and the Annual Report of the Monroe County Children's Court and the Monroe County Family Court for the years 1957 through 1967.

16. Letter from Dale Ordes, Director, Office of Statistics and Survey, New York State Executive Department, Division for Youth, November 10, 1977.

17. Juvenile Injustice, Office of Children's Services, Judicial Conference of the State of New York, October 1973, p. 26.

18. Report of The Administrative Board of the Judicial Conference of the State of New York For the Judicial Year July 1, 1968 Through June 30, 1969, Legislative Document (1970) No. 90, p. 309. The figures for 1968-69 are compared to 1967-68.

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

20. As in the 1950's sample, these figures are based on children who had at least one founded contact for child maltreatment, delinquency, or ungovernability. Children with no founded contacts have been omitted.

21. See table showing that the percentage distribution in the sample is representative of the percentage distribution of all delinquency cases in the state.

22. See, for example, Easson, William, and Steinkilber, "Murderous Aggression By Children and Adolescents." *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 4:1-9, (June, 1961). This study took a representative sample of the entire delinquency caseload, but an "unrepresentatively" larger sample of juveniles charged with homicide, rape, and arson would be worth further study and comaprison with the large sample of other delinquent acts included in this study.

23. 1967 was the year of highest involvement in the Monroe County sample.

24. For state-wide statistics: Report of the Administrative Board of the Judicial Conference of the State of New York for the Judicial Year July, 1968 Through June 30, 1969, p. 309. [It lists a comparison with the previous judicial year, which is cited above.]

25. *Ibid.*, p. 301. Note: The Judicial Year reports are based on cases completed within that year--or before the data collection period for that year is terminated, and this method may introduce fluctuations of its own--types of cases that last longer might not be recorded until the next year.

26. The Fundamentals of Child Protection: A Statement of Basic Concepts and Principles In Child Protective Services, Children's Division, The American Humane Association, pp. 35-36.

27. See Appendix for Tables on the Disposition of Contacts with percentages and numbers for each county in the 1950's and 1970's samples.

28. Child Protective Services in New York State: 1976 Annual Report, New York State Department of Social Services, March 1977, p. 31. Adapted from bar garph presentation.

29. See Profile of Neglect: A Survey of the State of Knowledge of Child Neglect, Polansky, Hally, and Polansky, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Services, 1975.

30. In this table, contacts which lead to an interium but not final disposition, such as referral to court or another agency, have not been included. Tables giving the dispositions of all contacts for each county, including the number as well as the percentage can be found in Appendix . The 15% average for placement in abuse cases is based on 611 abuse contacts, while the 20% average for placement in neglect cases is based on 6760 contacts.

31. Ibid., p. 33.

32. Glasser, Paul, and Garvin, Charles, "A Framework For Family Analysis Relevant To Child Abuse, Neglect, and Juvenile Delinquency." Paper presented at a conference, "Exploring the Relationship Between Child Abuse and Delinquency: a Symposium," University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, July 21 and 22, 1977.

33. For this table, interim dispositions such as "referred to court," or "referred to another agency," have been excluded.

34. Gelles, R., Etiology of Violence: Overcoming Fallacious Reasoning In Understanding Family Violence And Child Abuse. Presented at a Symposium, "Child Abuse: Where Do We Go From Here?" Washington, D.C.: Children's Hospital National Medical Center (February, 1977).

35. See also, Gil, 1971:644.

36. Zalba, 1971:59; Bennie and Sclare, 1969:975; and Wasserman, 1967:177.

37. Gil, 1971:664.

38. Juvenile Injustice, pp. 24-28.

39. Gelles, 1977.

40. See Footnotes to Table

41. See Footnotes to Table

42. The ethnicity of 14.5% of the children was not indicated in the records of the agencies or courts.

43. Richard Gelles and Andrea Carr at the University of Rhode Island are analyszing the effects of the various dispositions of the child protective contacts in each sample. For example, an analysis will be made to determine whether foster care placement is associated with greater or lesser occurrences of later juvenile misconduct.

44. *The Abused Child: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Developmental Issues and Treatment*, ed. by Harold P. Martin, Ballinger Publishing Co., p. xi.

45. Elmer, Elizabeth and Gregg, Grace, "Developmental Characteristics of Abused Children," *Pediatrics*, 40(4):596-602, 1967.

46. Green, Arthur H., et. al. "The Psychiatric Sequellae of Child Abuse and Neglect," paper read at the American Psychiatric Association Annual Meeting, 1974.

47. Johnson, Betty, and Morse, Harold, "Injured Children and Their Parents," *Children* 15(4):147-52, July-August, 1968.

48. Prescott, James W. "Body Pleasure and the Origins of Violence," *The Futurist* 64-74, April, 1975.

49. Given the low level of services being provided to abused and neglected children, more longitudinal research may be needed on the long-term effectiveness of various types of services. In the meantime, there is clinical evidence that mental health services can help children who need them, whether or not they have been maltreated.

50. Beezley, Patricia, Martin, Harold, P., and Kempe, Rich, Chapter 10, "Psychotherapy," in The Abused Child: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Developmental Issues and Treatment, Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976, p. 211.

51. Ibid.

52. Lynch, Margaret, Ibid., p. 2.

53. Fox, Sanford, "Juvenile Justice Reform: Innovations in Scotland," American Criminal Law Review, Winter 1974

54. Levy, Anna Veters, Hon., Other People's Children, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1956, p. iii. Judge Levy served on the Juvenile Court of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Appendix A

Search of the Literature

Prepared by:

Thomas Mc Donald

Beckett, Peter, Robinson, D., Frazier, S., et al. "The Significance of Exogenous Traumata in the Genesis of Schizophrenia," *Psychiatry*, 19:137-42, 1956.

In a study of 27 schizophrenics, ranging in age from 4 to 33, the authors suggest that various types of physical and psychological "assault", can induce the development of schizophrenia. The majority of the subjects had experienced some form of parental abuse, ranging from spontaneous chockings to lifelong beatings. The authors believe that the victim's first schizophrenic delusion may mirror the parental assault.

Bender, Lauretts, "Children With Homicidal Aggression," in: *Aggression, Hostility, and Anxiety in Children*, Charles Thomas Co., Springfield, Ill., 1953.

The "identification by the child with aggressive adults and a family pattern of violent behavior" is a contributing factor that can lead to violence and death wishes in the child. If overt aggression is a consistent pattern in these families, then suicidal and homicidal impulses may be interchangeable in the child.

Brandwein, Harold "The Battered Child: A Definite and Significant Factor in Mental Retardation," *Mental Retardation*, 11(5): 50-51, October, 1973.

Mental retardation as a residual consequence of child battering and neglect is not disputed, yet, there has been no real research on the subject which positively correlates the relationship or provides a rate of incidence. Using Gil's conservative estimate of 1.27 incidents of child abuse per year, at least 14% of these children or 170,000, are brain damaged. However, without the necessary research, such figures are only estimates.

Bullard, Dexter M. et al. "Failure to Thrive in the Neglected Child," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 37(4):680-90, 1967.

Of an original sample of 50 neglected children, 41 were studied for a period of one to nine years. They found that over 50% of the sample eventually manifested emotional disorders or were diagnosed as mentally retarded.

Button, Alan, "Some Antecedents of Felonious and Delinquent Behavior," *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 2(3):35-37, Fall, 1973.

A review of case studies indicates that child abuse was common among the delinquents studied. Their environments were characterized by large, unstable families in which the parents made use of excessive and irrational punishment. Abuse of alcohol and drugs was evidenced by many of the parents, and the anti-social behavior of the delinquent was usually preceded by similar acts by the father or an older brother.

Caffey, John "On the Theory and Practice of Shaking Infants. Its Potential Residual Effects of Permanent Brain Damage and Mental Retardation," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 124(1):161-69, July, 1972.

Shaking a child to make him behave, pay attention, or stop crying, is practiced widely in all levels of society by a wide variety of persons and "is generally considered innocuous by both parents and physicians." However, whiplash shaking and jerking of abused infants are common causes of skeletal injuries as well as cerebro-vascular lesions. The shaking of infants is particularly dangerous because their brains are soft and susceptible to injury.

Shaking is often overlooked when parents and physicians attempt to discover the source of a child's injury. "Some, perhaps many, of the cerebovacular injuries which are currently attributed both clinically and microscopically to parental infections, congential malformations, birth injuries and genetic metabolic diseases are undoubtedly caused by undetected, depricated and inapparent whiplash shakings during the first weeks and months of life."

Chase, Peter H., and Martin, Harold P., "Under Nutrition and Child Development," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 282: 933-39, April 23, 1970.

Nineteen children admitted to the Denver General Hospital for "under nutrition" were matched against a control group and re-examined four years later. The follow-up examination revealed that 68% of the sample children were below the 3rd percentile in height, as compared to 15% of the control group. Likewise, 53% were below the 3rd percentile in weight as compared to 21% of the control group.

While a child may be able to catch up in height and weight in the right environment, if the "under nurtition" affected brain growth the child may have varying degrees of brain dysfunction that can effect his motor, adoptive, language and personal or social development.

Children who were treated in a hospital during the first four months of life had fewer impairments than children treated at an older age. When tested for their Developmental Quotient, the control group scored 99.4 on the test and the undernourished group 82.1. However, the children who received treatment during the first four months of their lives scored 95.1, and those treated later scored 70.3.

Chilton, R. "Family Disruption, Delinquent Conduct and the Effect of Subclassification," American Sociological Review, 37:93-99, 1972.

An examination of 5,376 children known to the Florida Juvenile Courts showed some correlation between family disruption and juvenile delinquency. Over 83% of the children in the general population came from two parent families, but 40% of the juvenile delinquents came for one parent families, twice as many as the general population. It was also found that juveniles who committed serious Class A felonies were more likely to be from one parent families than youths who committed minor offenses.

Collins, Camilla "On the Dangers of Shaking Young Children," Child Welfare, 53(3):143-46, March, 1974.

This article reviews and summarizes Caffey's 1972 article. The 27 case studies which Caffey used in his material are discussed in more depth as is the case of a highly respected and sought after baby nurse who unknowingly killed infants by shaking them.

Curtis, George C. "Violence Breeds Violence - Perhaps," American Journal of Psychiatry, 120:386-87, October, 1963.

Children who are victims of parental brutality will evidence violent behavior later in life. Often, the violent behavior will be modeled after the parents. There is "a probable tendency of children so treated to become tomorrow's murderers and perpertrators of other crimes of violence - if they survive."

Duncan, Jane Watson, and Duncan, Glen M. "Murder in the Family: A Study of Some Homicidal Adolescents," American Journal of Psychiatry, 127(11):74-78, 1971.

In a study of five adolescent murderers, or adolescents who attempted murder, a pattern of parental brutality was found in the families. Generally, the father was excessively cruel and became the victim of the attack. In the case histories cited, one father was so cruel that his three sons calmly planned his murder. In another case, an alcoholic father who beat members of the family was killed by his son. It was discovered that the father had experienced similar treatment as a child.

Duncan, Glen, Frazier, Shevert, et al. "Etiological Factors in First Degree Murder," Journal of the American Medical Association, 168:1755, 1958.

This study of six men serving life sentences in the Minnesota state prison at Stillwater for first degree murder found that "remorseless physical brutality at the hands of the parents had been a constant experience. Brutality far beyond the ordinary excuses of discipline had been perpetrated on them, often, it was so extreme as to compel neighbors to intercede for the boy." To surpress the rage they felt towards their parents they transferred it to their victims. Two of the men had the greatest rage, not for the abusing parent, but for the one they perceived as never having protected them from attack. In each case, they killed a girlfriend who had become a substitute mother figure.

Easson, William and Steinkilber, Richard "Murderous Aggression by Children and Adolescents," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 4:1-9, June, 1961.

The case histories of 8 boys, 7 who committed murderous assaults and 1 who was successful, showed that physical violence was either from parental example or through unconscious parental approval. All of the subjects displayed symptoms of inner tension; most were enuretic into adolescence and either sucked their thumbs or bit their nails.

Ebbin, A., Gollub, M., et al. "Battered Child Syndrome at the Los Angeles County General Hospital," *American Journal of Diseases in Children*, 118:660, 1969.

Primarily concerned with recognition and the etiological characteristics of the parents, this study found that 30% of the 50 children in the sample demonstrated significant growth retardation, and 6% died from thier injuries.

Eisenberg, Leon "The Sins of the Fathers: Urban Decay and Social Pathology," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 32:5-17, 1962.

In a group of 140 children in foster placement nearly 70% had been placed because of neglect and 30% because of juvenile delinquency. Eventually, 70% of the sample was referred for psychiatric help due to persistent and severe aggression. 50% had serious shcool difficulties. 30% were accused of stealing, 30% of deviant sexual behavior. 10% made overt attempts at suicide. 16% were chronic runaways, and 10% were enuretic.

Elmer, Elizabeth and Gregg, Grace "Developmental Characteristics of Abused Children," Pediatrics, 40(4):596-602, 1967.

A sample of 50 children were studied over a period of years to determine the effects of child abuse. Severe child abuse can be predictive of later developmental difficulties. Many of the children evidenced speech defects and 75% of the children in a sub-sample of 20 subjects had severe emotional problems or were mentally retarded.

Feshbach, Norma D. "The Effects of Violence in Childhood," Journal of Clinical Psychology, 2(3):28-31, Fall, 1973.

This article against the use of "violence" and physical punishment of children by parents and teachers discusses corporal punishment rather than child abuse. Exposure to violence in childhood can lead to personality and learning difficulties: "the degree of parental punitiveness has been found to be postively correlated with various forms of psychology, especially delinquency and aggressive acting-out behavior."

Fishoff, Joseph "The Role of the Parent's Unconscious in Children's Anti-social Behavior," Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 2(3):31-33, Fall, 1973.

Some of the more undesirable aspects of a parent's personality may be unconsciously transferred to the child, often by the time the child is three years of age. Anti-social behavior will be unconsciously projected onto the child and, it will be reinforced by parental approval.

Fitti, R.M. and Bitt, A. "Behavior Profile of Abused Children," the Child Guidance and Mental Health Clinics of Delaware County, Media, Pennsylvania, April, 1975.

In order to create a behavior profile of abused children, 28 abused children were studied at Delaware county child guidance and mental healt clinics. The types of abuse the children experienced ranged from beatings to burnings, malnutrition and sexual attacks.

The types of behavior the children exhibited included: all 28 children feared and distrusted adults, and 25 children showed unpredictable behavior that varied between extreme opposites, 25 were inarticulate and 23 had a low self image. 14 were hyperkinetic or hyperactive. In 11 of these 14 cases, there was minimal brain dysfunction.

Gladston, Richard "Observation on Children Who Have Been Physically Abused by Their Parents," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 122:440-43, 1965.

Abused children admitted to the Children's Hospital in Boston were observed. When first admitted to the hospital, many of the children displayed symptoms of shock, others were frightened of physical contact, and would attempt to hide under their bed sheets. Gradually, many of these symptoms of withdrawal disappeared as the children began to respond to the attention and kindness of the hospital staff.

Gladston, Richard "Preventing the Abuse of Little Children: The Parent's Project for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 45(3):372-81, 1975.

Among the children observed at the Parent's Center, violent aggression and temper tantrums were major forms of getting attention. While this behavior diminished after the child was in the program a while, these traits may never completely disappear.

Goldfarb, William "Psychological Privation in Infancy and Subsequent Adjustment," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 15:247-55, 1940.

15 children raised in an institutional setting were studied. The emotional deprivation the children experienced directly affected their intellectual capacity. All of them had a history of school difficulties. Their personalities and behavior also showed the consequences of deprivation. Many were enuretic into adolescence. Temper tantrums were common and, they demonstrated "incomprehensible" cruelty to other children and animals; frequently there was an absence of a normal amount of anxiety following acts of hostility or aggression. They were hyperactive or very disorganized.

Green, Arthur H., Gaines, R. Sangrund, A., et al. "The Psychiatric Sequellae of Child Abuse and Neglect," a paper read at the American Psychiatric Association annual meeting, 1974.

The effects of abuse and neglect on ego function, intelligence, and behavior were measured. Three samples were created: 60 abused, 30 neglected, and 30 "normal" children. The sample was evenly divided among males and females and included blacks, Hispanics, and whites.

All the children were tested for control of aggressive and sexual impulses, defensive functioning, ego competency, thought process, reality testing, object relations, concept of body image, self concept and levels of anxiety, depression and self destructiveness. The children were given the WISC, WPPSI, Rosarch, Bender-Gestalt, Human Figure Drawings, and Rosenzweig Picture Frustration tests.

The results showed widespread impairment of ego function, intelligence, and behavior among the abused and neglected children. However, the results showed that the abused and neglected children, were equally impaired.

Gregg, Grace S. "Physicians, Child Abuse Reporting Laws and the Injured Child. Psychological Anatomy of Childhood Trauma," Clinical Pediatrics, 7:120-25, 1968.

Upon re-examining 20 children, previously hospitalized for abuse, only 2 of them could be considered "normal." Seven suffered from physical defects, 10 were functionally retarded, and 5 were abnormal in height and weight.

Gregg, Grace S., and Elmer, Elizabeth "Infant Injuries: Accident or Abuse?" Pediatrics, 44:434-49, September, 1969.

In this study of 113 children, 50% of the abused children were developmentally retarded.

Gunn, Alexander D. "The Neglected Child," Nursing Times, London, 66(30):946-47, 1970.

The disturbed behavior of adolescents and young children may be symptomatic of neglect. Such children have a tendency to marry and have children at an earlier age than the general population. They often repeat the inadequate child rearing practices of their parents.

Holder, Vera "The Battered Child at School," Health and Social Service Journal, 86:71-72, January 10, 1976.

This British study found that "a correlation between learning difficulties and abusive environments is almost undeniable." The residual emotional and physical consequences of battering may prevent the child from ever doing well in school. Learning problems may be the result of brain damage, particularly dyslexia and preceptual motor skills impairment . On an emotional level, the victim of abuse may be highly anxious; acute anxiety may cause hyperactivity. Learning problems with signs of dyslexia and perceptual difficulties may also be the result of anxiety. "Sometimes, through battering a child becomes so anxious that his eyes can not focus."

Hopkins, Joan and Steele, Brandt F. Denver Child Protective Association, unpublished, study still in progress.

Two hundred randomly selected cases of youths brought into the Juvenile Detention Center in Denver on delinquency charges were studied. Of the 100 youths whose parents were not interviewed, 72% gave a history of abuse in their homes. The parents of the remaining children were interviewed in depth, and it was revealed that in 84% of the households there was a history of significant physical attacks against the child, including fractures. "A significant relationship exists between abuse and aggression and the pattern of delinquency shown by these children."

Jacobson, Shirley, Fasman, Jean and DiMascio, Alberto "Deprivation in the Childhood of Depressed Woman," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 160(1):5-14, January, 1975.

374 women hospitalized for depression, 114 women on an out patient status, and a control group of 198 "normal" women were studied. The purpose of the study was to see if their depression was the result of overt childhood losses, such as death of a parent, parental separations or illnesses, or resulted from a poor quality of childhood experiences.

There was no relationship between their depression as adults and childhood loss. However, the hospitalized women scored as having the least postive and the most negative childhood experiences of abuse, rejection, over protectiveness, punitive punishment and shaming. These negative childhood experiences contributed more to the adult depression childhood than loss.

Jenkins, Richard L. and Bayer, A. "Effects of Inadequate Mothering and Inadequate Parenting in Children." International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 16(1):72-78. 1969.

1500 subjects with child guidance problems were studied. 278 were determined to have experienced inadequate mothering. The behavior problems associated with these youths includes: hostility, rebellious delinquent acts, sexual promiscuity and other sexual problems, resentfulness, and tendencies towards anxiety and depression.

Jenkins, Richard L. "Child Parent Relationships and Delinquency and Crime," in: Etiology of Delinquent and Criminal Behavior, Walter C. Reckless ed., Social Science Research Council, New York 1943.

This article describes the "unsocialized aggressive child," who is cruel, defiant, quarrelsome, openly antagonistic to teachers, rude to persons in authority, tempermental, suspicious, and revengeful. He has never known a normal parent-child relationship and has usually been rejected from birth or views himself as such. He constantly sees himself as a victim even when he is the aggressor.

Jenkins, Richard L. "Deprivation of Parental Care as a Contributor to Juvenile Delinquency," in: Childhood Deprivation, Albert R. Roberts ed., Charles Thomas Co., Springfield, Ill., 1974.

"The example of loss of control and violent behavior by the parent gives rise to a certain sanctioning or reinforcing of such behavior on the part of the child." The "unorganized" child is inadequate and immature, and he often views the world as a hostile and frustrating place. "They are typically children who have felt, and who usually have been unloved in their homes." This child tends to run away from his problems.

The "group delinquent" usually comes from a large family where there is inadequate supervision. The absence of the father, or the presence of an alcoholic one, contributes to the child's behavior. The home is generally crowded, dirty, and inadequate and the child prefers the street to his home. This child is very likely to join a gang in search for a substitute home.

Johnson, Betty and Morse, Harold, "Injured Children and Their Parents," Children, 15(4):147-52, July-August, 1968.

In a Denver, Colorado study of 101 abuse cases, nearly 70% of the sample was below normal in physical and emotional development. Their parents were found to be incompetent and impulsively over-reacted to stressful situations.

Kaufman, Irving, Durkin, H., et al. "Deliniation of Two Diagnostic Groups Among Juvenile Delinquents: The Schizophrenic and the Impulse Ridden Character Disorder," Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 2:292-319, 1963.

Impulse ridden character disorders tend to be more closely associated with the residual consequences of abuse and neglect than schizophrenia. There are certain features associated with the parent-child relationship:

1. recurring loss and discontinuity of sustained parent-child relationship either by desertion or emotional withdrawal of the parent.
2. inconsistent child rearing practices - alternations of indulgence and restriction.
3. a model of overtly "delinquent" behavior by either parent or both.

The ego mechanism such a child might employ are denial, projection, and identification with the aggressor.

King, Charles H. "The Ego and the Integration of Violence in Homicidal Youth," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 45(1):134-45, January, 1975.

This study of 9 youths who committed homicides found that the "family situations were full of turmoil. Usually there were brutal fights between the parents. The children were subjected to beatings, the sample youth was most often singled out for abuse. Inconsistent and ineffective handling of the children, episodic desertions - most often by the father....were characteristic. Drinking by one or both parents was a serious problem leading to unpredictable mood swings and violence. A prevailing aura of fear seemed to persist."

Feeling such an acute sense of rejection "all nine distrusted the environment, expecting to be harmed by people in any social intercourse." As a consequence, they try to anticipate hostility and rejection and react to it with their own aggression first. All the children in the sample were educationally retarded and relatively inarticulate; consequently, they could not verbalize their feelings so they acted them out - usually violently.

Loomis, W.G. "Management of Children's Emotional Reactions to Severe Body Damage (Burns)," Clinical Pediatrics (Philadelphia), 9:362-67, June, 1970.

Some parents abuse their children by deliberately burning them. This article about accidental burnings shows that the victim of burns often suffers profound emotional as well as physical trauma. The enormous pain associated with burns is often overwhelming to the child, causing him to regress into a more infantile state of life. The victim's sense of trust may become severely impaired, particularly if he realizes that the infliction of his injury was deliberate.

Lorr, Maurice and Jenkins, Richard L. "Patterns of Maladjustment in Children," Journal of Clinical Psychology, 9:16-19, January, 1953.

Jenkins' theoretical categorizations of unsocialized aggressive, group delinquent and unorganized adolescents are expanded upon with behavioral and personality traits ascribed to each grouping.

Lukianowicz, Narczy "Battered Children," Psychiatrica Clinica (Basel), 4(5):257-80, 1971.

This etiological study of abused children in Northern Ireland describes some short and long term effects of maltreatment. The short term effects may be psychosomatic symptoms of emotional stress, bed wetting, enuresis, and encopresis. The long term effects include (1)the child becoming withdrawn, timid and afraid; or (2)becoming a rebel, aggressive psychopath, and a battering parent himself; or (3)symptoms of brain damages such as varying degrees of intellectual retardation, or some forms of epilepsy.

MacKeith, Ronald "Speculations on Non-accidental Injury as a Cause of Chronic Brain Disorder," Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology, 16(2):216-18, April, 1974.

For every young child who dies from a subdural hematoma, there are four others who survive incapacitated. The author estimates that in England there are 400-450 new cases a year of chronic physical or mental handicap due to abuse. There are 1600 new cases of cerebral palsy each year, and in 50% of the cases there is no adequate cause for the condition. Battering might be examined as one possible cause in these cases.

Martin, Harold "The Child and His Development," in: Helping the Battered Child and His Family, Helfer and Kempe eds., Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1972.

A follow-up study of 42 abused and neglected children seen at the JFK Child Development Center at the University of Colorado. It was found that "permanent damage to the brain is a frequent sequella of physical abuse. 43% of our study group have abnormality on follow-up neurological examination." The most common abnormalities were mental retardation and failure to thrive.

The emotional consequences of abuse or neglect, particularly the absence of trust, are also discussed. Even with intervention, 38% of the sample demonstrated language delay, an indication of their lack of trust of their environment. The peer group relationships of these children are casual, their investigative behavior limited, and they let outside forces determine for them what the appropriate behavior should be rather than judging it for themselves through their own internal mechanisms.

Mc Carthy, Paul "Youths Who Murder," in: *NATO Conference on Delinquents and Origins of Aggressive Behavior*, the Hauge: Moulton Publishers, 1974.

A study of homicides committed by youths in the Republic of Ireland found that 90 of the victims were related to the perpertrator, who in most cases, was openly rejected by his parents.

Mc Henry, T., Girdamy, B., and Elmer, E. "Unsuspected Trauma With Multi-Skeletal Injuries During Infancy and Childhood," *Pediatrics*, 31(6):903-08, 1963.

An examination of the records of 50 children admitted to a Pittsburgh hospital over a ten year period disclosed that 40% of them were retarded. However, it could not be accurately ascertained whether the retardation came before, or was the result of, the abuse.

Minuchin, S., Auerswald, E., King, C., et al. "The Study and Treatment of Families that Produce Multiple Acting Out Boys," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 34:125-33, 1964.

This article describes the relationship between inconsistent parenting and acting-out behavior of children. The mothers did not respond to the behavior of the child, and attempted to ignore him for as long as possible. When they did respond, it was usually abrupt and violent. Such a pattern of response confuses the child and distorts his ego development - he is given no boundaries or guidelines by which he can judge the correctness of his behavior, and often he is incapable of seeing that his actions are wrong and impinging upon others. Because this child is frequently ignored, he will act out just to elicit a response from the parent, for even a painful response is an acknowledgement that he exists.

Money, John, Wolff, Georg, and Annecillo, Charles "Pain Agnosia and Self-Injury in the Syndrome of Reversible Somatotropin Deficiency (Psychosocial Dwarfism), *Journal of Autism and Childhood Schizophrenia*, 2(2):127-39, April-June, 1972.

32 patients were treated at Johns Hopkins Hospital for a dwarfism syndrome characterized by reversible inhibition of growth. Prior to hospitalization, 69% of the sample had a positive history of severe physical punishment, abuse or alleged accidents. Pain agnosia, the lack of recognition of pain, was also present. In 14 cases the parents or caretakers reported a lack of response to injury. In another 11 cases the children were described as never complaining or crying - even when punished. Advances in growth and the lessening of pain agnosia were positively correlated with a change in environment and the diminishing of physcial punishment.

Morse, Carol, et al. "A Three Year Follow-up Study of Abused and Neglected Children," American Journal of Disease in Children, 120:439-46, November, 1970.

Twenty-five children treated by the Strong Memorial Hospital, at the University of Rochester were followed-up for a period of three years. During the course of the follow-up, 33% of the children were suspected of having been further abused or neglected.

An assessment of the children's intellectual, emotional, social, and motor development was made, and 70% of the children were found to be below normal.

Mushin, Alan S. "Ocular Damage in the Battered Baby Syndrome," British Medical Journal, 3:402-04, August 14, 1971.

Serious eye damage is an often overlooked residual consequence of battering a child about the head. 19 children were observed, 12 of whom had permanent impairment of vision affecting one or both eyes. Blows to the head may cause detached retinas, or optic atrophy can result from hemmorrhages associated with a fractured skull of subdural hematoma. 15% of the sample went blind from optic atrophy.

Office of the Children's Services, Judicial Conference of the State of New York, The PINS Child: A Plethora of Problems, New York, 1973.

This survey of 316 PINS children, (Person in Need of Supervision, a New York State Family Court Act definition of an ungovernable child) provides a stark picture of the role of the family environment in the behavior of the child. 26% of the PINS children had previously been known to the Courts as neglected children, as were 20% of their siblings. Only 27% came from intact, two parent households; 43% were born out of wedlock. In those cases where the child was legitimate, 55% of the fathers left the home before the child's fifth birthday.

An assessment was made of the parents: 35% were termed "neglectful," 52% "inadequate," 49% "rejecting," 36% "rigid."

The report concluded that "these children have...serious emotional problems of their own, problems that are aggravated if not caused by the disorganization of their families, by inadequate and rejecting parents and disturbed siblings."

Patton, Robert G. and Gardner, Lytt "Influence of Family Environment on Growth: The Syndrome of Maternal Deprivation," *Pediatrics*, 30:957-62, December, 1962.

An examination of 6 children requiring medical attention for failure to thrive, suggesting that the condition of the children was an emotional reaction; there was nothing wrong with them organically, and they had ample food to eat. Their home life was characterized by grossly disturbed environments featuring parental emotional disorders, desertions, separations and alcoholism. The child's physical condition was a reflection of that environment, leading to a conclusion that "growth retardation may, at times, be a truly psychosomatic disorder."

Polansky, Norman, Borgman, R., DeSaix, C., and Smith, B. "Two Modes of Maternal Immaturity and their Consequences," *Child Welfare*, 49:319-23, June, 1970.

A study to see what effects the apathy-futility and the childishly impulisve syndromes of the neglecting parent have on the child. The behavior of the child was found to correlate with the behavioral syndrome of the mother. These two syndromes generally result in four possible consequences for the child:

1. *deprivation-aggression* - frustration of the needs of a child can result in chronic hostility and aggression.
2. *deprivation-detachment* - frustration of the child's needs may lead to an absence of trust and the child withdraws into himself.
3. *stimulus-deprivation* - lack of individualized attention can result in the stunting of the cognitive intellectual, perceptual and motor abilities of the child.
4. *control-systems* - the lack of parental guidance and behavioral role models may result in a distortion of the adoption of the proper internalized behavioral controls in the child.

Prescott, James W. "Body Pleasure and the Origins of Violence," *The Futurist*, 64-74, April, 1975.

This article suggests that the deprivation of physical pleasure is a "major ingredient in the expression of physical violence." An infant deprived of parental contact and tender handling will have negative emotional reactions: "the deprivation of body touch, contact and movement are the basic causes of a number of emotional disturbance which include depressive and autistic behavior, hyperactivity, sexual aberration, drug abuse, violence and aggression."

This theory supports that belief that violence against children results in a violent society. A cross cultural study of South American Indian tribes reveals that 73% of the societies that inflicted physical pain and punishment on children had a high degree of adult violence as well.

Reiner, Beatrice and Kaufman, Irving "Character Disorders in Parents of Delinquents," Family Service Association of America, New York, 1959.

The behavior of the delinquent is often a reflection of the inadequate and neglectful behavior of the parents. In observing delinquents and their families at the Judge Bacon Guidance Center in Boston, it was found that "a majority of the parents fell into the character of impulse ridden character disorders," with violence and denial being principal mechanisms. "A child born into such a family has a negligible chance of growing into a normal, healthy and useful adult."

Reiser, David E. "Observations of Delinquent Behavior in Very Young Children," Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 2:50-71, 1963.

Fifteen children were referred to the Putnam Children's Center in Boston because they were hyperactive, impulsive, aggressive, and destructive to an extreme degree. Such behavior was considered to be a precursor to delinquent conduct during adolescence.

There were strong evidences of emotional and physical maltreatment of the children: "in some families both parents reacted towards the child as an intruder, a dangerous, destructive and dirty monster." One child was badly burned, another kept in a cage, an another was kept tied up with rope. The resulting consequences were that speech was a relatively late achievement for all of them and 50% were still enuretic by age 5.

In order to test his hypothesis, 26 hyperactive, aggressive, destructive, children were tested against a group of 25 without any of these traits. 34% of the sample group became juvenile delinquents but none of the control group.

Rolston, R. "The Effect of Prior Physical Abuse on the Expression of Overt and Fantasy Aggressive Behavior in Children," a doctoral dissertation, 123 pp., 1971, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Adoption of and identification with parental violence and aggression is a common residual consequence of maltreatment. However, while some children demonstrate aggressive behavior, others may become passive and withdrawn. 20 physically abused children were tested against a control group of 20. All of the children were in foster care. The control group had higher scores for competitiveness, truancy, destructiveness, and quarrelsomeness. They also showed more overt and fantasy aggressive behavior. On the other hand, the abused group showed higher ratings in docility, the need to placate others, and somberness. They were also more inclined towards thumbsucking and masturbation.

Rosen, Shirley, Hirschenfang, S. and Benton, J. "Aftermath of Severe Multiple Deprivation in a Young Child: Clinical Implications," Perceptual and Motor Skills, 24:219-26, 1967.

This study of one child describes some of the possible physical consequences of maltreatment. A 3 year old was admitted to the hospital in critical condition, suffering from malnutrition and dehydration. His twin brother, admitted with him in the same condition, died within hours

Although he was 3 years old, he could not stand or walk. The lack of proper nutrition had impaired the development of his brain, and his vision, hearing, and speech were seriously impaired.

Sadoff, Robert L. "Clinical Observation of Parricide," Psychiatric Quarterly, 45(1):65-69, 1971.

In two case studies of parricide, both minors had been treated cruelly and excessively by their parent victim. The behavior of the parent towards the child was so extreme that the child was pushed to the point of a lethal explosion. Afterwards, both youths felt relief rather than remorse.

Sandgrund, Alice, Gaines, Richard and Green Arthur "Child Abuse and Mental Retardation: A Problem of Cause and Effect," American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 79(3):327-30, November, 1974.

The cognitive development of 60 abused, 30 neglected and 30 control children was tested. The subjects ranged in age from 5 to 12.9 years and children with major skull traumas were excluded from the sample. The subjects were given the WPPS, WISC, Rorschach, Bender-Gestalt, Human Figure Drawings, Rosenzweig Picture Frustration, and Children's Appreciation tests. The "data revealed a disproportionate frequency of full scale IQ's below 70 among the abused and neglected children." 25% of the abused and 20% of the neglected children were mentally retarded as opposed to only 3% of the control group. However, the

Stratten, J., Menninger, K. et al. "Murder Without Apparent Motive," American Journal of Psychiatry, 117:48-53, 1960.

Four men convicted of bizarre and senseless murders were observed. All were judged "sane" and "without psychosis" by a team of psychologists. But all four men exhibited a background of "extreme parental violence during childhood." Childhood exposure to overwhelming stimuli, such as violence, before the child is capable of dealing with or mastering it, can lead to ego defects and poor impulse controls.

Steele, Brandt F. "Child Abuse: Its Impact on Society," The Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association, 68(3): 191-94, March 1975.

This article discusses the impact of child maltreatment on society through its related consequences of delinquency and adult violence. "Violence is a family matter. It begins in the home and it stays there." The childhood experiences of Sirhan Sirhan and Arthur Bremmer are discussed. Sirhan was placed in protective custody as a child because of the beatings he received from his father.

ten Bensel, Robert W. The Battered Child Syndrome, Medcom Inc., New York City, 1971.

This instructional pamphlet to aid doctors in recognizing child abuse also discusses some residual consequences of abuse and neglect. An improper diet with a vitamin D deficiency may result in rickets. If the parents neglect the cleanliness of the child, he may develop impetigo, eczema or other severe skin rashes that may result in blood poisoning. A residual emotional consequence is also discussed: "Abused children, rather than regarding themselves as innocent victims, tend to accept their parent's view of them, they are bad and deserve their battering. This attitude persists long past the battering period, and seriously undercuts their intellectual and emotional functioning. Ironically, and tragically, they themselves tend to become battering parents, thus perpetuating the cycle."

Weston, James, an unpublished study, as referred to in the correspondence between Dr. Brandt Steele and the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, page 231 of the hearings on the Child Abuse Prevention Act of 1973.

100 consecutive cases of juvenile offenders reported to the Philadelphia courts were examined and each youth was interviewed in depth. 80% had a history of being neglected or abused as a young child. Nearly 40% could recall having been knocked unconscious by one or both parents.

possible conclusion is qualified: "While the frequent occurrence of mental retardation among abused children has been demonstrated, it remains to be shown conclusively whether cognitive impairment antedates abuse or is one of its effects."

Schermerhorn, W. "The Neglected Child's Perception of the Public School Experience," a doctural dissertation, 202 pp., 1970, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

19 neglected males were compared against a control group of 17 males. Both groups were evaluated through direct interviews and by classroom observation. The neglected children were found to be less capable of developing normal and positive human relationships. There were substantial differences between the groups in terms of self concept and the ability to establish peer group relationships. The neglected children also showed impairment in their perception of adults and teachers and in affiliation. Children may need greater structure and emotional support if they are to do well in school.

Scrimshaw, Nevin "Early Malnutrition and Central Nervous System Function," *Merril-Palmer Quarterly*, 15:375-87, 1969.

Malnutrition most seriously affects the very youngest children. The lack of protein and vitamins can destroy developing brain cells in an infant. An improper diet, lacking protein and vitamins, can be just as destructive as a complete denial of food. Chase and Martin point out that the first four months of life are the crucial period in serious brain injury from malnutrition. Likewise, when rats are undernourished during the first 20 days of life they suffer a permanent reduction in the number of brain cells, even if they are fed properly thereafter. "Studies with experimental animals provides increasing evidence that early retardation of physical growth is associated with reduced brain growth and impaired learning and behavior in later life."

Silver, Larry B. et al. "Does Violence Breed Violence? Contributions from a Study of the Child Abuse Syndrome," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 126:404-07, September, 1969.

Violence does breed violence, particularly when the abused child identifies with the abusing parent in stressful situations. An examination of 34 cases of child abuse, revealed that while some of the children eventually learned to cope with emotional stress, others could not and must be considered as high risk parents and potential aggressive acting-out adolescents and adults. In the course of the study, 20% of the sample were reported to the authorities for acts of juvenile delinquency.

Wright, Logan "Psychological Aspects of the Battered Child Syndrome," Southern Medical Bulletin, 58(3):14-18, June, 1970.

In this follow-up study of abused children, 50% were emotionally disturbed and below normal intelligence levels. 60% showed deficiencies in physical growth. Only 10% of the children in the sample are expected to develop normally.

Young, Leontine Wednesday's Children, McGraw-Hill Co., New York, 1964.

During the course of studying abusing and neglecting families, 8% of the children were reported as juvenile delinquents. Some of the consequences for a child who becomes withdrawn due to maltreatment are also described. Very often this child develops a keen use of his sensory organs and is especially sensitive to the tone of a voice or the look on a face as an early warning to him to keep quiet, to stop making demands, or simply to remove himself from the room or the house.

Appendix B

Secondary Analysis Being Performed

by

Richard Gelles

and

Andrea Carr

Appendix B

Part I

CHILD MALTREATMENT AND THE OFFICIAL SYSTEM: AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH EFFORT USING DATA FROM RHODE ISLAND, NEW YORK AND FLORIDA

Proposed Research, Progress to Date and Future Plans

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January 4, 1978

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1975 we began a study of the definitions of child abuse and classificatory schemes employed by seven classes of professionals who frequently interact with suspected abused children and/or their families (physicians, emergency room physicians, elementary school counselors, elementary school principals, public social workers, private social workers, and police officers). The proposed goal of this research was to address the issue of child abuse from an innovative direction. Rather than accept the official designations of child abuse as objective operational definitions of abuse and then proceed to assess factors associated with child abuse and plausible causal models, we chose to treat the official designations of "child abuse" as problematic. We asked the questions: what factors are used by diagnosticians to a) define abuse, b) identify abuse, and c) report suspected abuse to appropriate agencies? We wanted to examine factors related to false positive and false negative diagnoses of abuse.

In reality, what we chose to study, by focusing on definitions and classifications of suspected cases of child abuse, was the process by which child protective systems operate in identifying and responding to suspected and reported cases of child abuse.

Our proposed research was broadened when we learned of official records on alleged child abuse available through a central Registry in the State of Florida Child Abuse. We proposed a detailed analysis of a representative sample of reports of child abuse received by the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

The analysis of the Florida study will allow us to broaden our examination of how child protective systems work in identifying and responding to reports of child abuse. We would be able to move from an analysis of the factors which lead social service personnel and other professionals to report suspected child abuse, to an analysis of which factors of the child, family, and suspected abusive situation were related to whether the case was found to be valid or not and whether the case was left open or closed.

Shortly after, we were offered the opportunity to examine and analyze data collected in New York state by the New York State Select Committee on Child Abuse. This study was a longitudinal study of a cohort of children from eight different counties who were identified as maltreated in the 1950s. This cohort was "followed" by tracking their future agency contacts within each individual county through the 1970s. These contacts include contacts for status offenses and juvenile delinquency. A second cohort of children labeled "persons in need of supervision" or "juvenile delinquents" in 1972 was tracked back in time to locate previous contacts for maltreatment.

We have begun a secondary analysis of the data collected in the state of New York. The New York analysis has added to our research by giving us an opportunity to examine the impact of being labeled "maltreated" on the likelihood and duration of future contacts with official agencies.

Thus, our original project expanded into a unique, three state, examination of the processes by which children are suspected of being abused, are labeled abused, diagnosed and initially categorized by protective agencies, and finally, how they are dealt with through a twenty year period of contacts with agencies charged with caring for, or dealing with, children who are labeled in need of services.

II. PROGRESS

Rhode Island Survey. Data collection on the issue of professionals' definitions of child abuse, views on causal factors, knowledge of the child abuse law, and factors which professionals respond to in identifying suspected cases of abuse has been completed. Three-hundred and ninety seven completed questionnaires were returned. These questionnaires were coded, the results key punched, and the data cleaned during the Spring of 1976. Preliminary analysis of the data is complete. A preliminary report from the questionnaire data was presented in November, 1976 at an NCCAN conference in Annapolis, Maryland. A more detailed presentation of the findings was presented in June, 1977 to the Study Group on Problems in the Prediction of Child Abuse and Neglect--Wilmington, Delaware.

In addition to the questionnaire data, follow-up interviews were conducted with 72 professionals who had reported suspected cases of child abuse. These interviews were "conversational" interviews designed to gather in-depth data on the processes which guide decision making when professionals are confronted by suspected or possible cases of child abuse.

Secondary Analysis of data from the State of New York. The secondary analysis of the data from the State of New York on the interrelationship between child maltreatment and later contacts with official agencies we proposed was inconsistent with the original purposes for which the New York data tape was prepared. Hence, our proposed secondary analysis required substantial modification of the data tape received and as a result of the delays we had in producing a workable data file, we have examined, at this point, only the following issues:

A. We have used various techniques to assess and determine the extent of the interrelationship between child maltreatment and later contacts for juvenile delinquency and PINS.
B. We have assessed the social and demographic characteristics associated with children who have early contacts for maltreatment and later contacts for juvenile delinquency and PINS.
C. We have examined the length of time children remain in the social and juvenile justice system and some background factors associated with length of time in the system.

The preliminary analyses of the data are enclosed as part of this Appendix.

Examination of Child Abuse Reports Made to the State of Florida. The examination of child abuse reports received by the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services began with a feasibility study of examining these data. Legislation pending in Florida created a major roadblock to our study, legislation that required officials to destroy identifying information on all reports determined unfounded and to immediately destroy all identifying information on all reports after 7 years. Since our study was designed to compare characteristics of founded and unfounded reports, this legislation was viewed as a final roadblock to our research.

However, the legislation was not to go into effect until October 1, 1977, and Florida officials indicated a willingness to draw a representative sample for us prior to October 1, 1977 after which data on unfounded cases could not be released. Arrangements were made to have Florida officials draw such a sample. Because of time limitations, the final representative sample of reports include data on 2890 families. Xeroxes of the reports were received at the University of Rhode Island on October 13, 1977. The Florida reports are now being analyzed and a code book and coding procedure is being prepared.

Summary. Delays in hiring personnel, delays in securing access to needed data, and time used to render the original data suitable for analysis has had a major impact on our proposed research. It has only been in the past six weeks that we have been able to begin a detailed analysis of the New York data. It will be another 8 weeks before the data from Florida is ready for analysis. The majority of the delays were matters we could not control.

III. FUTURE PLANS FOR ANALYSIS

After extensive time devoted to data collection and modification we now plan to engage in the following analyses:

Rhode Island Survey Data. With the completion of the preliminary data analysis, we plan to begin a more detailed examination of the factors which influence the likelihood of a suspected case of child abuse being reported to an official agency. Specifically, we intend to examine the variation of reporting within and and between occupational groups. We intend to examine how the characteristics of the professional influence his or her decision to report. Other factors to be looked at are: the definitions of abuse held by professionals, knowledge of the law, factors presumed as causing child abuse, and attitudes towards reporting and how these attitudes relate to the probability of a professional (and a professional group) making a child abuse report.

A second focus is to examine the interview data with the 72 professionals who reported suspected child abuse cases and examine what specific factors of given cases led them to report the case. These interviews also include discussions of cases which were reported that later turned out to be unfounded, and cases which were not reported which later resulted in furthur injury to the child at the hands of his or her parents or guardian.

New York Data. We plan to continue our present analyses with the New York data. Our current work includes:

1. Assessing the minimum and maximum possible association between being reported for child maltreatment and contacts with juvenile justice and social service agencies later in life.

2. Assessing factors related to contacts for both maltreatment and juvenile delinquency.

3. Assessing factors related to contacts for both maltreatment and status offenses.

4. Assessing factors related to duration of contact with juvenile justice, social service, and child welfare agencies.

5. Assessing the impact of the disposition of child maltreatment contacts on future agency contacts and dispositions.

6. An analysis of the various "types of child clients" which have contact with child welfare, juvenile justice, and social service agencies.

Florida child abuse report data. Our program of analyzing the data from Florida is to test the hypotheses stated in our earlier proposal. They are:

Hypothesis 1: The more serious the reported abuse, the more likely the case is to be confirmed.

Hypothesis 2: Cases of abuse reported by professionals (doctors, nurses, social workers, police, attorneys) are more likely to be confirmed than cases reported by neighbors, relatives, or anonymously.

Hypothesis 2a: Cases of abuse reported by family and friends are less likely to be confirmed than cases reported by strangers (non-family members).

Hypothesis 3: Confirmation of a case of abuse is dependent on who is accused of being the child abuser (family, babysitter, foster parent, etc.).

Hypothesis 4: Type of disposition of the report influences the likelihood of recidivism (i.e. being reported again).

Hypothesis 5: Type of abuse reported varies by race, age, and sex of the alleged victim of abuse.

In addition, we can use the data to estimate population parameters concerning the demographic distribution of child abuse reports in the state of Florida. These estimates will be done with the caveat in mind that all counties in Florida do not send their child abuse reports to the central office and that reporting patterns vary, by county, in the state of Florida.

A cursory examination of the recently arrived Florida data has suggested two additional areas of investigation that appear promising. First, social workers appear to be constrained, by law and by departmental policy, in the dispositions they can make, and we intend to incorporate this potential roadblock to valid findings of child abuse and neglect into our analysis. And, it appears that social workers tend to use a "set" in defining the validity, and therefore the disposition, of a given case under investigation. This set may incorporate the apparent happiness of the child and the cooperativeness of the caretaker(s). Second, our brief review of the case reports leads us to believe that the social service system may actually be used by some members of some families in an attempt to gain custody of a child they believe is not being properly cared for. We feel these areas are of sufficient importance to be incorporated into our planned analysis.

Synthesis. Unfortunately, our examination of labeling and classifying cases of child abuse has not gathered data from one state or one locality. Thus, to synthesize the data collected and analyzed from the three states requires the caution that the three states are not comparable in terms of how they handle and process cases of child maltreatment. Nevertheless, the three types of data we have give us the opportunity to project a model of the interactions between cases of child abuse and the child welfare and child protective systems. Combining the three data bases we can:

1. Trace the processes by which cases of abuse are identified, analyzed, and selected for reporting to official agencies.
2. Examine what factors influence the disposition of cases once they are reported to official agencies.
3. Assess what happens to the children after they have been reported as maltreated. Which children never have future official contacts and which children have continued and frequent contacts?

Some possible conclusions which we might be able to arrive at concern an analysis of how child welfare and child protective agencies operate and for whom they operate. Are there any social biases in the operation of child welfare agencies--do they have a predisposition for working well for some children and poorly for others? Admittedly, these conclusions will be tentative and speculative. But they may offer a new insight into a facet of child abuse which has never been rigorously examined. Moreover, we will be in a position to develop "good" testable hypotheses which could lead to further clarifying the role of official agencies in dealing with cases of child abuse.

Appendix B

Part II

Some Preliminary Findings on the Association Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Misconduct in Eight New York Counties*

by

Andréa Carr
University of Rhode Island
October 20, 1977

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*This paper was prepared as a preliminary and speculative examination of a portion (the 1950 sample) of the New York data graciously made available to us by Jose Alfaro of the New York Select Committee on Child Abuse. His clarification of the sample design and data collection methods is greatly appreciated. Richard J. Gelles' theoretical insights and editorial skills have significantly improved this preliminary effort. Eileen Hargreaves' devoted attention to detail in helping prepare and interpret the tables helped eliminate many errors that might otherwise have existed. And, Lisa Belmont's careful typing skills, through many drafts, are most appreciated.

INTRODUCTION

This Report is based on official records data collected in eight New York counties (Alfaro, 1973) and uses only the "1950 sample" of that data set. This sample of children was obtained by searching county records and selecting all children in each of eight New York counties who were reported as maltreated in either 1951 or 1952.[1] County records were then searched, forward through the early 1970s and backward as far as county records permitted, for any other official contacts the sample children may have had for either maltreatment or for juvenile offenses (see Alfaro, 1973).

A previous analysis (Alfaro, 1977) has revealed the empirical association in these data between official maltreatment contacts and official juvenile misconduct contacts. The present Report selectively extends that analysis by assessing the strength of the revealed association between reported maltreatment and juvenile misconduct, by examining the affect of selected background characteristics of the children on this empirically-found association between reported maltreatment and juvenile misconduct, and by examining the length of time the sample children remain in contact with the social service system(s).

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[1] Siblings of children officially reported maltreated were also included in the sample. And, as two counties processed very large numbers of reports, it was deemed cost-prohibitive in these two counties to sample for an entire year--three months were selected, April, July, and February. Finally, as county record keeping varied widely (see Alfaro, 1973), we have grouped the counties into high and low "contact-per-child" counties, based on the overall mean number of agency contacts-per-child.

Assessing the Strength of the Relationship Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Misconduct in New York

Jose Alfaro (1977) has examined a sample of 4465 children and their siblings who had contacts for child maltreatment in the early 1950s with official agencies in eight New York counties. Using these data he has demonstrated that relationship between reported child maltreatment contacts and official contacts the sample children had for juvenile misconduct (juvenile delinquency--JD--and persons in need of supervision--PINS) through the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Alfaro finds relationships ranging from about 10% to nearly 30% (Table 1) between early contacts for child maltreatment and later agency contacts for various categories of juvenile misconduct.[2]

Since siblings of those reported as maltreated are included in the sample, and assuming that even exposure to violence in the home may be associated with juvenile misbehavior, we have included those children with only juvenile contacts (Table 1) to arrive at a total empirically found relationship between officially reported child maltreatment and juvenile misconduct. The relationship between those two types of contact ranges from 9% in Suffolk county to 30% in Monroe county.

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[2] In this section of the report we have included "sexual abuse" as maltreatment in order that our results be comparable with Alfaro's (1977) analysis. However, we have excluded this form of maltreatment in subsequent sections, as we feel it is a special form of maltreatment.

The relationship for all eight counties is 20%. That is, one in five sample children who had child maltreatment contacts (or were siblings) were later officially reported as delinquent or in need of supervision. If no relationship actually existed we might still by chance or error expect to find perhaps a 5% relationship. If juvenile contacts among the general population of children (maltreated or not) were known we might be better able to assess the strength of the approximately 20% empirically demonstrated relationship in Table 1.

The relationships presented in Table 1 have not taken into account the validity of the official maltreatment report. If an association between maltreatment and juvenile misconduct exists, then those children with *valid* official maltreatment contacts would be expected to show an even higher percentage of children with both maltreatment *and* juvenile contacts. In Table 2 we compare the relationship between maltreatment contacts and juvenile contacts: a)for all 1950 sample children; and, b)for those 1950 sample children with at least one valid maltreatment contact. Surprisingly, there is little difference. Only in New York county does the relationship increase by more than 2 or 3 percent, and even there the increase is only about 4 percent. Perhaps, Table 2 should include, in addition, only *valid* officially reported juvenile contacts. Or, perhaps, mere *contact* with official agencies is a "validating" experience in itself.

Without population data it is possible to delineate four general factors that make this seemingly high relationship clearly a conservative estimate of the actual relationship:

1. The New York data are entirely official records data. And, such records are often lost through fires, purposeful destruction, administrative policy changes, etc. We have explicitly recognized this problem by separating the counties into high and low "average contact-per-child" counties. More importantly, a child may have an official maltreatment contact and later engage in juvenile misconduct but not be officially recorded as such. Thus, our estimate is an underestimate of any relationship that might actually exist in the eight counties.

2. Some children may be so seriously abused that they die or are institutionalized for life. These children, then, will not later have official contacts for juvenile misbehavior. Thus, again, the 20% relationship underestimates the true association between official maltreatment contacts and official juvenile misconduct contacts. As 1% of the New York sample children died of maltreatment we can partially estimate the conservatism introduced by these factors.

3. The sampling design was intra-county (see Alfaro, 1973). That is, official records within each county only were searched. Thus, migration patterns impose limits on the relationship that can be found. Some children who have been officially found maltreated in a non-sample county will move into a sample county, and, perhaps, be recorded as delinquency contacts only. Other children included in the sample because they had maltreatment contacts in the early 1950s may move out of the county and have juvenile contacts. Yet these children, in this data, will appear to show no association between maltreatment and juvenile misconduct.

Table 3 attempts, crudely, to estimate the affect of migration on the relationship between early and later contacts. Counties with high net migrations should show relatively low relationships between maltreatment and juvenile misconduct, other things being equal. Generally, this is born out as of the four counties with relatively high net migration (in or out) three do show relatively low relationships. Westchester county seems to be, to some degree, an exception.

4. Finally, and not mutually exclusive from the migration pattern problem, the possible relationships are understated by statute limitations on the age of eligibility for delinquency and PINS contacts. For most of the period covered by the data children were eligible for JD and/or PINS contacts only if they were between 7 and 17 years of age. If a child were included in the sample because of a maltreatment contact at age 1, he would not even be eligible for a delinquency contact for six years. A sibling included in the sample might already be 18 and thus never eligible. Indeed, at any given contact some of the children will not be eligible for juvenile contacts by virtue of their age. And, some children have fewer official contacts than others.

Table 4, therefore, presents both the percent of children no longer available (they have no further official contacts) and, for those with a given contact, the percentage eligible for juvenile contacts. In the low contact counties most children have two or fewer contacts and the percentage eligible varies widely as the percent base drops dramatically after contact two. Among high-contact counties, New York and Erie counties consistently, from contact two through five, have smaller percentages of children eligible for juvenile contacts, thus reducing the possible relationship between maltreatment and juvenile contacts. And, New York is the county that shows the lowest empirically found relationship among these high-contact counties (Tables 1 and 2). Erie county appears to be an exception, perhaps explained by relatively high population increase (Table 3) or other factors not presently available.

The Affects of Background Characteristics on Maltreated Children and on Those Maltreated Children With Juvenile Contacts

Official records data collected on children who were identified by official agencies as victims of maltreatment in the early 1950s (Jose Alfaro, 1977) provide selected background information on a sample of 4463 children. In this section, we address two questions: 1)do children with official maltreatment contacts (the 1950 sample children) differ in background characteristics from the general population of children (in the eight counties sampled)? and, 2)do the subset of children with maltreatment contacts and either delinquency (JD) or status offense contacts (PINS) differ in background from those children with only maltreatment contacts?

This is an exploratory examination of the background characteristics of children officially labelled "maltreated." Children are classified in terms of the nature of their contact with official agencies.[3] Children with official contacts for maltreatment and juvenile misbehavior have been divided into two groups: 1)maltreated children who also had delinquency contacts (JD); and, 2)maltreated children who also had status offense contacts (PINS). It is important to note that these two categories of children are not mutually exclusive: a maltreated child with a delinquency contact may also have had a PINS contact, and a maltreated child with a PINS contact may also have had a delinquency contact. We intend, later, to examine children by looking at mutually exclusive categories but time constraints preclude such examination at present.

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[3] Classification is based on only the first referral reason in the data--as many as seven are listed for some contacts.

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The data on child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency in New York are based entirely on official records (Alfaro, 1973). Thus, only a limited set of background characteristics is available for each child. Specifically, we have data on the sex, ethnicity and religion of each child. Additionally, we have data on the presence of the mother and father in the home at the time of contact, the number of persons in the household, and whether the child was born out-of-wedlock. These data (see Table 5) are remarkably complete, with the exception of ethnicity where data are missing for nearly 15 percent of the children.[4]

Background Variables. While causal inference is premature, all variables (except "presence of parents in the home") are likely to be prior in time to any of the incidents leading these children in the sample to being identified by official agencies as maltreated. The presence of parents in the home is at least contemporaneous with such incidents. For some of the variables we have corresponding population data on the eight sample counties for comparison, a reasonable control group (although the general population includes maltreated children). We will explore the relationship between these background characteristics and contact for maltreatment and contact for *both* maltreatment and juvenile misconduct.

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[4] One county--Broome--is primarily responsible for this relatively high rate of missing data among low contact-per-child counties. Among high contact-per-child counties both Erie and Monroe contribute relatively heavily--20% to 25%--to the overall rate of missing data on ethnicity.

1. *Sex*. In the literature a consistent finding is that boys are more likely than girls to be *physically* abused (Straus, 1971; Gelles, 1977:21). Gelles' figures (1977) are based on a nationally representative sample of intact families. Among those children in New York who had contact with official agencies for maltreatment in the 1950s we find *no difference by sex* (Table 6). One reason our results are different from Gelles' is that our sample is not representative and maltreatment is not simply violence, but also includes behaviors which might better be called "child neglect." However, even when we look at child abuse (defined as physical attacks or serious risk thereof) we find boys no more likely to be abused than girls.[5] The percentage of boys and girls among the New York sample of maltreated children are much the same as similar percentages for the general population in every sample county.

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[5] Although these data are not presented, we have examined abuse (defined as *physical* harm or risk thereof) and neglect separately. From time to time we will report on these findings but the number of tables involved precludes our presenting them here.

However, there is a major difference between boys and girls when we consider maltreated children who also had juvenile contacts. In every county, boys are much more likely than girls to exhibit a pattern of maltreatment and delinquency. And, this is especially true in low contact-per-child counties (Table 6).

The affect of sex on maltreatment and status offenses (PINS) types of contacts is less clear. In three of the four high-contact counties girls are somewhat more likely than boys to exhibit this pattern of contacts. But the difference is quite small. In low-contact counties sex appears to be unrelared to contact types involving maltreatment and PINS.

In sum, the proportion of boys and girls among the maltreated sample appears much like that of boys and girls in the general population. And, the fact that being a boy is more highly associated with maltreatment and delinquency patterns of contacts may very well only reflect that boys, in the general population, are more likely to be officially tagged as delinquent than are girls. Sex, in this data, then, appears to be unrelated to having an official contact for maltreatment, or, among those with maltreatment contacts, to having a contact for delinquency or status offenses.

2. *Religion*. To the extent that religion has been assessed in child abuse literature, any relationship tends to reflect marginality rather than an attribute of the religion. We do not have data on the distribution of religion in the general population of these eight counties, and such data would be necessary to assess the marginality of a particular religious group in any particular county. And, in any event, a careful examination of our data[6] reveals that, on the whole, membership in any particular religion does not appear to be associated with children being officially recorded as maltreated, or with the officially labelled and maltreated children in the sample also having official juvenile contacts.

3. *Ethnicity*. More child abuse is found among the lower socio-economic families than higher socio-economic families (Gelles, 1977). But, the "cause" of this association is unclear. Some argue families of lower socio-economic status *are* more violent, while others argue that poverty and lack of status subject such families to greater stress. Some point to the relative isolation of the poor, while others note that close, dense neighborhoods and the attention of social service agencies to such families merely increases their chances of being seen and "caught" as child abusers. Perhaps, social service personnel have come to expect such behavior from these families and are more willing to see a particular overt behavior as abuse. And, perhaps the "cause" is several, or "all" of these factors.

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[6] Tables on religion are not included here, see footnote 5.

We have no indicator of socio-economic status in the data on background characteristics. But, we do know that the non-white population in this country is highly over-represented among the poor. Following on the research on SES and child abuse, we would expect that non-whites would be proportionately more likely to be reported as maltreated children than whites. It is also well established that non-whites are proportionately more likely to come to official attention for juvenile misconduct than are whites. But, are non-whites even more likely to have both maltreatment and delinquency or status offenses contacts with official agencies?

Table 7 confirms that non-whites are disproportionately represented among the 1950 sample of children selected because they were officially in contact with agencies for maltreatment, or were the siblings of such children. In all but one county with a substantial non-white population, the non-white percentage among the reported maltreated children is about double the percentage of non-whites in the most recent population year--1970. And, in New York county this percentage reaches a level where "ceiling effects" make it unlikely that it could be higher: while a fifth of New York county's population is non-white, nearly two-thirds of the 1950 sample children are non-white.

In two counties--Kings and Monroe--non-whites are not only disproportionately represented among children with maltreatment contacts, but are substantially more disproportionately represented among children with both maltreatment and juvenile contacts, especially delinquency contacts. And, in all high contact-per-child counties at least one of the interaction contact patterns--maltreatment and JD, or maltreatment and PINS--shows a higher percentage of non-whites than the percentage of non-whites among all maltreated children in the 1950 sample. In low contact-per-child counties the low proportion of non-whites in the population and the degree of missing data on ethnicity (see Table 5) make interpretation of data impossible.

In short, being non-white increases one's chances of being officially recorded as maltreated, but more importantly ethnicity also appears to increase one's chances of being reported as maltreated _and_ delinquent or in need of supervision (PINS). At this point, we can only report that being non-white increases one's chances of being officially tagged, for maltreatment and even more so (in some counties, at least) for maltreatment _and_ juvenile misconduct.

4. _Family Composition_. Researchers investigating child abuse and delinquency have argued that various aspects of family composition affect these two behaviors. Gelles (1977) observes a repeated finding in child abuse research is the positive association between child abuse and family size (see also, Gil, 1971:644). Many have suggested that pregnancies occurring before marriage or early in a marriage may reflect an unwanted

pregnancy or a severe stress on an already stressful relationship. And, premarital pregnancies, unwanted pregnancies and children born out-of-wedlock have been shown to be associated with child abuse (Zalba, 1971:59; Bennie and Sclare, 1969:975; and Wasserman, 1967:177). Finally, abused children have been shown to disproportionately come from female-headed households (Gil, 1971:664).

Population per Household. A positive association between family size and child abuse appears to be a consistent finding in the child abuse research (Gelles, 1977). In Table 8 this consistent finding is confirmed in our sample data. When compared to the general population of these eight counties, the families in the sample of maltreated children are always twice as large, and often as much as three times as large as the average family size in the populations of these counties. And, this conclusion appears to hold equally for high and low contact-per-child counties.

In high contact-per-child counties those maltreated children who also have official contacts for delinquency and/or PINS tend to come from even larger families than do those children who are in the total 1950 sample. In low-contact counties there are not enough cases for a realistic assessment of the impact of family size on the chances of the sample children having maltreatment contacts or of having two types of contacts--maltreatment and juvenile contacts.

It appears that the data presented here support the previously found association between family size and child abuse. But, Table 8 also suggests that coming from a large family may increase the chances of being officially in contact with official agencies over a longer time and for both types of contacts--both maltreatment and juvenile offenses. Perhaps, large families are more known and visible and therefore more likely to come to official attention for any given type of behavior. Or, possibly large families are simply more stressful social settings.

Out-of-Wedlock Birth. It has been shown that children born out-of-wedlock are more likely to be abused than other children. Table 9 clearly shows that a disproportionate number of children in the 1950 sample (selected primarily because they had maltreatment contacts in the early 1950s) were born out-of-wedlock, when compared with children in the general population of these eight counties. And, in low-contact counties this is even more apparent: more than three times as many children were born out-of-wedlock among those with maltreatment contacts than in the general population.

Yet, a central issue in this research is the relationship between maltreatment contacts and juvenile misconduct contacts. The literature does not address the question of whether an unwanted pregnancy increases or decreases the association between maltreatment contacts and juvenile misconduct contacts. The number of children in low-contact counties with both maltreatment contacts and juvenile contacts precludes our assessing the affect of out-of-wedlock birth on these children. Yet, they are more likely than children in the general population to be born out-of-wedlock.

In high-contact counties, the evidence generally suggests only that being born out-of-wedlock increases the probability of having official contact for maltreatment. With the exception of children in New York county with maltreatment contacts and PINS contacts, children with both types of contacts are no more likely to have been born out-of-wedlock. Children with both maltreatment and juvenile contacts are, however, about as likely as other maltreated children (or their siblings) to be born out-of-wedlock.

In New York county it is interesting to speculate about why it is children with maltreatment _and_ PINS contacts, and _not_ maltreatment _and_ JD contacts who are much more likely to be born out-of-wedlock. Perhaps, status offenses are typical of children not just born out-of-wedlock, not just children of unwanted pregnancies, but truly unwanted children.

Parental Presence in the Home. While we do not have comparative population figures on the presence or absence of mothers and fathers among families in the eight New York counties, our finding that 41 percent of the fathers are absent (Table 10) does seem high. It seems likely that the 1950 sample children are less likely to be living with their fathers than children in general. Whether 15 percent of the mothers being absent is disproportionately high is more difficult to assess: children often do live with other relatives, more and more frequently live with their fathers only, and certainly among those children with valid maltreatment contacts many (although less than might be expected--see Alfaro, 1977) are placed in foster homes and institutional settings.

Still, two things are particularly noteworthy in Table 10. First, the absence of either a mother or father does not appear to be more prevalent among children with both types of contacts--maltreatment and juvenile. Second, in the high-contact-per-child counties, more so than in the low-contact counties, mothers and fathers are more likely to be present among the total 1950 sample children with both maltreatment and juvenile contacts. And, this is especially true for mothers--in keeping perhaps with the finding that child abuse is more prevalent in female-headed households. The high contact-per-child counties seem more affected by ethnicity than low-contact counties (Table 7). And, now, we find that low-contact counties appear more affected by this family composition variable--the absence of the parents, especially the mother. Further exploration is clearly indicated.

Time in the System

Approximately two fifths of the 1950 sample children had only one official contact whether for maltreatment or for juvenile misconduct.[7] It should be remembered that having only one officially recorded contact, in these data, is a conservative estimate of the actual number of official contacts: some official records are lost or destroyed; and, the intra-county sampling design further suggests that some official contacts may occur in another county and thus not be recorded in these data.

For the nearly 60 percent of the sample with two or more contacts, our initial results indicate that, overall, the children remained in the system an average of six years (Table 11). Children with only maltreatment contacts, or only juvenile contacts similarly tended to remain in the system about 5 or 6 years. Children with both maltreatment and juvenile contacts (about 20 percent of the 1950 sample - see Table 1) remain in the system longer--in most counties four to five years longer. This, of course, is not a surprising result, but we intend to examine this result in terms of background characteristics, validity and dispositions in order to better understand the exact meaning.

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[7] This also means that they could have behaved in ways or may have been subject to behavior which might have put them at risk of official contacts. Nevertheless, there is only one contact recorded in these data.

Table 11 is also a bit unusual in that, unlike many of the "by-county" data we have previously presented, the data do not vary by the county subgroups we have formed based on "contacts-per-child." There is a great deal of county variation in the average time in the system, but it does not appear related to the number of contacts. We intend next to explicitly examine the time in the system by the actual number (and type) of contacts a child has.

It might be expected that boys, once in contact with official agencies, might be watched more closely and therefore spend, on the average, more time in the system. In Table 12, we see this is not so, at least for those with two or more contacts.[8] There are counties where boys, particularly if they have interaction contact patterns--maltreatment and juvenile contacts--are likely to be in the system longer.[9] Still, this is not a consistent finding, but rather a finding limited to specific counties and specific contact patterns.

It can be similarly argued that non-whites might be engulfed by the system for longer periods of time than whites. Their resources for avoiding the system may be more restricted and expectations on the part of social service agencies may expose non-whites to greater risk of repeated official contacts.

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[8] Girls may be more likely to have only one official contact, but time constraints preclude our reporting data to support or deny this contention.

[9] See Broome, Kings and Monroe counties, particularly "interaction" patterns.

In Table 13 it is clear that among those children with *only* maltreatment contacts, our expectation is not met--except for selected counties with small numbers of children, non-whites are "in the system" for about the same average length of time as are white children. However, among those children with both maltreatment *and* juvenile contacts--interaction patterns--non-whites are in the system longer, on the average, in the seven counties where a comparison can be made. And, it appears to be more than an *entire year* longer in nearly every case.

These tables, then, suggest that the length of time spent in the official social service system of these eight New York counties depends on having *both* maltreatment contacts *and* juvenile contacts. Further, Table 13 suggests that at least some background characteristics tend to increase the time in the system for those with *both* types of official contact--maltreatment and juvenile.

The small N's for the "juvenile contacts only" pattern is a result of the sample design.[10] However, we can, and will, repeat the analysis using the New York 1970 sample in order to better assess whether "juvenile contacts only" tend to keep children in the system longer than do "maltreatment contacts only."

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[10] The New York 1950 sample was selected because the children had official contacts *for maltreatment*, or were the siblings of children who did. The New York 1970 sample was selected because the children included had official contacts for *juvenile misconduct*. There will, therefore, be more children in 1970 sample with "juvenile contacts only."

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Table 1. Relationships Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Contacts, By County, 1950 Sample*

	Maltreatment and JD and/or PINS	JD and/or PINS only	Total	
Broome	8.1%	2.0%	10.1%	(247)
St. Lawrence	15.2%	7.1%	22.3%	(99)
Suffolk	6.0%	2.7%	8.7%	(301)
Westchester	11.9%	7.5%	19.4%	(428)
Subtotal	9.7%	4.8%	14.5%	(1075)
Erie	21.0%	2.9%	23.9%	(1259)
Kings	18.3%	2.9%	21.2%	(618)
Monroe	28.0%	1.5%	29.5%	(528)
New York	13.4%	2.1%	15.5%	(821)
Subtotal	19.7%	2.5%	22.2%	(3226)
Total	17.2%	3.1%	20.3%	(4301)

*"Miscellaneous" contacts have been excluded.

Table 2. Relationships Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Contacts, By County, 1950 Sample*

	Maltreatment and Juvenile Contacts	Maltreatment and Juvenile Contacts for Those With at Least One Valid Maltreatment Contact
Broome	8.1% (247)	8.9% (191)
St. Lawrence	15.2% (99)	17.9% (84)
Suffolk	6.0% (301)	5.5% (182)
Westchester	11.9% (428)	10.5% (400)
Subtotal	9.7% (1075)	9.8% (857)
Erie	21.0% (1259)	21.5% (1168)
Kings	18.3% (618)	19.8% (531)
Monroe	28.0% (528)	28.2% (525)
New York	13.4% (821)	17.1% (556)
Subtotal	19.7% (3226)	21.5% (2780)
Total	17.2% (4301)	18.8% (3637)

*"Miscellaneous" contacts have been excluded.

Table 3. Migration Patterns
from 1950 - 1960
In the Eight New York Counties

	Total Population	Net Migration	Natural Increase
Broome	15.1%	-0.3%	15.4%
St. Lawrence	12.5%	-4.2%	16.7%
Suffolk	141.5%	116.6%	24.9%
Westchester	29.3%	17.3%	12.0%
Erie	18.4%	3.1%	15.3%
Kings	-4.0%	14.0%	9.9%
Monroe	20.3%	6.2%	14.1%
New York	-13.4%	-18.6%	5.2%

(Source: County and City Data Book, 1967, A Statistical Abstract Supplement, U. S. Department of Commerce.)

Table 4. Percent of Children Eligible for PINS/JD Contacts for Each County for Contacts 1 through 7
1950 Founded and Unfounded By Child Sample

County	Contact 1		Contact 2		Contact 3		Contact 4		Contact 5		Contact 6		Contact 7	
	% NA	% E	% NA	% E	% NA	% E	% NA	% E	% NA	% E	% NA	% E	% NA	% E
Broome (281)	5	42	67	39	78	38	92	46	95	29	98	14	98	0
St. Lawrence (101)	1	58	40	71	80	70	92	50	93	57	97	33	98	50
Suffolk (308)	4	46	67	63	90	66	97	80	99	100	100	-	100	-
Westchester (475)	3	40	70	72	88	71	94	82	97	33	98	40	99	17
Subtotal (1165)	3	44	66	62	85	58	94	66	97	40	98	30	99	15
Erie (1290)	17	30	33	46	52	61	69	73	81	80	89	83	93	81
Kings (625)	10	43	34	59	56	71	73	88	87	85	95	97	97	94
Monroe (545)	15	29	30	54	58	76	74	83	85	85	92	80	95	78
New York (838)	10	35	44	48	62	62	77	71	86	72	90	80	95	80
Subtotal (3298)	13	34	35	50	56	66	73	77	84	80	91	83	95	82
Total (4463)	11	37	43	52	64	65	78	76	87	77	93	80	96	77

Table 5. Missing Data on Available Background Characteristics,[a] 1950 New York Sample of Children with Maltreatment Contacts. (N=4463)

	N	Percent
ex	7	.2%
thnicity	652	14.6
other's Birthplace	3	.1
eligion	4	.1
orn Out-of-Wedlock	36	.8
other Present in the Home	56	1.3
ather Present in the Home	80	1.8
opulation per Household	NA[b]	NA

This sample also includes siblings with any type of official contacts - maltreatment or juvenile.

As this variable includes parents, siblings and non-siblings who might be resident in a household, missing data is not distinguishable from the absence of a person in the household.

Table 6. Sex: Percent Males and Females

	In the General Population [a]		In the Total 1950 Sample		Among Children with Maltreatment Contacts and[b]			
					JD Contacts		PINS Contacts	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Broome	49%	51%	50%	50% (280)	86%	14% (14)	56%	44% (9)
St. Lawrence	50	50	50	51 (101)	79	21 (14)	—	— (1)
Suffolk	50	50	51	49 (308)	89	11 (9)	44	56 (9)
Westchester	48	52	54	46 (474)	83	17 (30)	52	48 (27)
Subtotal	NA	NA	52	48 (1163)	84	16 (67)	52	48 (46)
Erie	49	51	54	46 (1286)	81	19 (167)	55	45 (148)
Kings	49	51	52	48 (624)	82	18 (67)	34	66 (59)
Monroe	48	52	51	50 (545)	69	31 (80)	44	56 (97)
New York	48	52	47	53 (838)	70	30 (54)	46	54 (65)
Subtotal	NA	NA	51	49 (3293)	77	23 (368)	47	53 (372)
Total	NA	NA	51	49 (4456)	78	22 (435)	48	52 (418)

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[a] Taken from Tables prepared by Jose Alfaro (1977).

[b] As noted in the text, the two contact patterns presented here are not mutually exclusive.

Table 7. Ethnicity: Percent Non-White[a]

	In the General Population		In the Total 1950 Sample	Among Children with Maltreatment Contacts and	
	1950	1970		JD Contacts	PINS Contacts
Broome	.5%	1.4%	0% (112)	0% (12)	0% (6)
St. Lawrence	.2	.6	0 (101)	0 (14)	— (1)
Suffolk	4.9	5.2	17 (266)	0 (8)	— (14)
Westchester	6.2	10.2	34 (472)	27 (30)	41 (27)
Subtotal	NA	NA	22 (951)	13 (64)	29 (38)
Erie	4.8	9.6	18 (1006)	25 (146)	22 (125)
Kings	7.8	26.8	35 (615)	48 (67)	47 (58)
Monroe	1.7	7.9	16 (410)	38 (68)	17 (79)
New York	20.6	29.2	66 (829)	62 (52)	69 (67)
Subtotal	NA	NA	35 (2860)	38 (333)	34 (329)
Total	6.5	13.2	32 (3811)	34 (397)	34 (367)

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[a] See footnotes to Table 2.

Table 8. Average Population Per Household[a]

	In the General Population, 1950	For the Total 1950 Sample Children	For 1950 Sample Children with Maltreatment Contacts and	
			JD Contacts	PINS Contacts
Broome	3.35	5.84 (281)	5.14 (14)	5.11 (9)
St. Lawrence	3.63	9.02 (101)	8.36 (14)	- (1)
Suffolk	3.31	5.29 (308)	4.78 (9)	6.67 (9)
Westchester	3.40	5.08 (475)	5.30 (30)	6.48 (27)
Subtotal	NA	5.66 (1165)	5.84 (67)	6.50 (46)
Erie	3.42	7.52 (1290)	7.81 (167)	8.17 (149)
Kings	3.36	7.39 (625)	7.63 (67)	7.66 (59)
Monroe	3.26	7.64 (545)	8.04 (80)	7.52 (97)
New York	2.80	6.13 (838)	7.02 (54)	6.74 (68)
Subtotal	NA	7.16 (3298)	7.71 (368)	7.66 (373)
Total	NA	6.77 (4463)	7.42 (435)	7.53 (419)

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[a] See footnotes to Table 2.

Table 9. Percent Born Out-of-Wedlock.

	In the General Population	In the Total 1950 Sample	Among Children with Maltreatment Contacts and	
			PINS Contacts	JD Contacts
Broome	3%	16% (274)	0% (9)	0% (14)
St. Lawrence	4	13 (101)	— (1)	21 (14)
Suffolk	2	12 (307)	11 (9)	0 (9)
Westchester	5	20 (471)	11 (27)	13 (30)
Subtotal	NA	16 (1153)	9 (46)	10 (67)
Erie	5	12 (1276)	9 (149)	14 (167)
Kings	8	19 (624)	14 (58)	10 (67)
Monroe	6	21 (539)	23 (96)	28 (79)
New York	18	27 (836)	43 (68)	24 (54)
Subtotal	NA	19 (3275)	20 (371)	18 (367)
Total	NA	18 (4428)	19 (417)	17 (434)

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[a] See footnotes to Table 2.

Table 10. Parental Absence: The Percent of Mothers and of Fathers not Living with the Child.[a]

	In the Total 1950 Sample		Among Children with Maltreatment Contacts and PINS Contacts		Among Children with Maltreatment Contacts and JD Contacts	
	Mother Absent	Father Absent	Mother Absent	Father Absent	Mother Absent	Father Absent
Broome	37% (277)	51% (276)	44% (9)	38% (8)	43% (14)	57% (14)
St.Lawrence	26 (101)	17 (99)	—(1)	—(1)	0 (14)	50 (14)
Suffolk	12 (306)	47 (304)	0 (9)	78 (9)	11 (9)	33 (9)
Westchester	36 (463)	50 (463)	30 (27)	56 (27)	21 (29)	41 (29)
Subtotal	29 (1147)	47 (1142)	26 (46)	56 (45)	20 (66)	46 (66)
Erie	9 (1265)	31 (1258)	8 (147)	30 (146)	11 (163)	37 (162)
Kings	13 (624)	33 (623)	17 (59)	36 (59)	12 (67)	31 (67)
Monroe	4 (537)	42 (529)	3 (97)	44 (96)	4 (80)	45 (80)
New York	15 (834)	55 (831)	18 (68)	46 (67)	11 (54)	56 (54)
Subtotal	10 (3260)	39 (3241)	10 (371)	37 (368)	10 (364)	41 (363)
Total	15 (4407)	41 (4383)	12 (417)	39 (413)	11 (430)	41 (429)

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[a] See footnotes to Table 2.

Table 11. Average Number of Years Between First and Last Contact of Any Type for Those 1950 Sample Children with Two or More Contacts*

	All 1950 Sample	Children with only Maltreatment Contacts	Children with Maltreatment and Juvenile Contacts	Children with only Juvenile Contacts
Broome	5.74 (85)	4.19 (61)	10.87 (17)	- (2)
St. Lawrence	4.58 (62)	3.09 (43)	7.27 (15)	- (4)
Suffolk	7.00 (101)	6.33 (77)	10.84 (18)	- (4)
Westchester	7.81 (138)	7.86 (244)	8.56 (51)	6.40 (19)
Subtotal	6.62 (386)	5.62 (244)	9.16 (101)	7.03 (29)
Erie	6.63 (905)	5.65 (651)	9.53 (227)	6.23 (23)
Kings	4.99 (420)	4.14 (294)	7.86 (107)	2.42 (11)
Monroe	9.08 (382)	7.76 (231)	11.29 (142)	7.28 (8)
New York	4.23 (463)	3.07 (356)	8.22 (97)	6.38 (9)
Subtotal	6.23 (2170)	5.08 (1532)	9.43 (573)	5.60 (51)
Total	6.29 (2556)	5.15 (1776)	9.39 (674)	6.12 (80)

*Based on eleven contacts (less than one percent had more than eleven contacts).

Table 12. Mean Number of Years Between First and Last Contact of any Type for Those 1950 Sample Children with Two or More Contacts

	Maltreatment Only		Interactions		Juvenile Only	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Broome	5.17 (31)	3.19 (30)	11.83 (11)	9.11 (6)	- (2)	- (0)
St. Lawrence	2.87 (23)	3.35 (20)	7.96 (12)	- (3)	- (2)	- (2)
Suffolk	6.05 (41)	6.64 (36)	10.34 (12)	11.83 (6)	- (4)	- (0)
Westchester	8.46 (31)	7.28 (32)	7.78 (34)	10.13 (17)	6.30 (14)	6.68 (5)
Subtotal	5.85 (126)	5.38 (118)	8.90 (69)	9.73 (32)	7.16 (22)	6.64 (7)
Erie	5.36 (315)	5.93 (334)	8.88 (152)	10.80 (74)	6.90 (17)	4.32 (6)
Kings	4.28 (144)	4.01 (150)	8.31 (63)	7.22 (44)	3.10 (6)	1.60 (5)
Monroe	7.39 (102)	8.05 (129)	11.65 (80)	10.82 (62)	7.24 (5)	- (3)
New York	2.87 (159)	3.24 (197)	8.19 (53)	8.25 (44)	2.83 (5)	- (4)
Subtotal	4.88 (720)	5.26 (810)	9.31 (348)	9.60 (224)	5.64 (33)	5.51 (18)
Total	5.03 (846)	5.27 (928)	9.24 (417)	9.62 (256)	6.25 (55)	5.83 (25)

Table 13. Mean Number of Years Between First and Last Contact of any Type for Those 1950 Sample Children with Two or More COntacts

	Maltreatment Only		Interactions		Juvenile Only	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Broome	3.90 (36)	- (0)	9.78 (13)	- (0)	- (2)	- (0)
St. Lawrence	3.09 (43)	- (0)	7.27 (15)	- (0)	- (5)	- (0)
Suffolk	5.17 (51)	7.49 (19)	10.19 (12)	- (0)	- (2)	- (0)
Westchester	7.40 (50)	9.70 (12)	7.54 (33)	11.13 (16)	7.60 (7)	5.70 (12)
Subtotal	5.04 (180)	8.35 (31)	8.32 (73)	11.13 (16)	8.78 (15)	5.70 (12)
Erie	5.54 (421)	4.22 (66)	9.13 (150)	10.49 (41)	7.40 (13)	- (3)
Kings	4.20 (201)	3.68 (77)	8.16 (59)	7.78 (37)	3.44 (5)	9.42 (6)
Monroe	7.77 (148)	7.83 (27)	11.31 (87)	11.37 (28)	- (3)	- (3)
New York	2.82 (121)	3.37 (147)	6.73 (35)	9.67 (49)	- (1)	7.47 (7)
Subtotal	5.24 (891)	4.00 (317)	9.28 (331)	9.74 (155)	5.88 (22)	6.29 (19)
Total	5.21 (1071)	4.39 (348)	9.11 (404)	9.87 (171)	7.06 (37)	6.06 (31)

Appendix C

History and Methodology

History and Methodology

In April, 1973, the Select Committee received from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services a grant to "design a research plan to study the interrelationship between child abuse and neglect and later socially deviant behavior." This phase of the research project ended in June, 1977, with the completion of a pilot study, the development of the research design, including the data collection instruments and the data code book, and the preparation of a Feasibility Report. In June, 1977, the Division of Criminal Justice Services awarded the Select Committee a grant to conduct the research project.

During the feasibility stage of the project, eight counties were tested for their suitability for the study. Broome county, in the southwestern part of the state, includes the city of Binghamton. According to the 1970 Census, 221,815 people live in Broome county, and in 1950, 184,698 people lived in the county. Erie county includes the second largest city in the state, Buffalo. In 1970, 1,113,491 people lived in Erie county, while 899,238 lived there in 1950. Kings county is part of New York City, and is otherwise known as the boro of Brooklyn; 2,602,012 people lived in this county in 1970, while its population was even higher in 1950, 2,738,175. Monroe county includes the city of Rochester. In 1970, 711,917 people lived in this county, while 487,632 lived there in 1950. New York county is part of New York City and is usually called Manhattan. In 1970, 1,524,541 people lived in this county, while 1,960,101 lived there in 1950. St. Lawrence county is and was completely rural in the northern part of the State along the St. Lawrence river boundary with Canada; in 1970, 111,991 people lived in this county while 98,897 lived there in 1950. Suffolk county is in the eastern part of Long Island, and it has changed from a rural to a suburban community between 1950 and 1970. Its population in 1970 was 1,127,030, while its population in 1950 was only 276,129. Westchester county is a suburban area adjacent to New York City, and it is known for its large number of middle and upper income families. In 1970, 894,406 people lived in this county, while 625,816 had lived there in 1950.

These counties were chosen because they had an active child protective system in the 1950's, because their records were thought to be complete, and because they provided a mixture of urban, suburban, and rural communities. Three of the counties, Broome, Erie, and Monroe, have all three types of communities within them. An attractive feature, also, was the presence of colleges or universities from which students could be recruited to help collect the data for the study.

The project director visited the social service agencies, Family Courts, and the Probation Intakd Services in the eight counties during the feasibility or pilot stage of the project.

The cooperation and agreement of these agencies to participate in the study was obtained. The files and records of these agencies was examined to determine the condition of the records, their completeness, and their adequacy in supplying the data needed for the study. The indexing and cross-referencing systems of each agency and court were also examined.

This examination revealed that some records had been destroyed in three counties. In Broome county, the Social Services Department had recently been unified through the merger of three separate agencies, the Social Service Department of Binghamton, the similar department for the cities of Johnson, Endicott, and Union, and the similar department for the remainder of Broome county. The case records in the Binghamton Department of Social Services that had been inactive since 1963 had been recently destroyed. In Suffolk County, a fire destroyed the Children's Court (the predecessor to the Family Court) in 1956. In Westchester, the prime child protective agency in the early 1950's was a private agency, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which was merged with the Department of Social Services in the mid 1960's; its records were lost or destroyed in the merging process. However, many records were preserved, and a decision was made to continue the study in these counties because of their different demographic characteristics.

With the assistance of a research methodology consultant, a research design and data collection instruments were developed. (See Appendix D for a copy of the original, approved research design.) The research design called for the creation of two distinct samples of children and families. The first would include all children, and the siblings of children, who were reported as abused or neglected in one year of the early 1950's. The second sample would include all children reported as delinquent or ungovernable in three months of one year in the early 1970's. These two samples would be kept separate from each other throughout the data collection and analysis.

Initial plans were to use 1952 as the sample year, but in some counties it was more feasible to use 1953 records. The sample from Erie and St. Lawrence counties includes all the child protective cases that have been preserved from that year. The sample from Monroe county represents all the reported cases from 1953, while the sample from Kings and New York counties include all the cases reported in February, July, and October of 1953. The sample from Broome and Westchester counties include all reported cases from both 1952 and 1953. The sample from Suffolk county, which includes only Social Service Department cases since the court records had been destroyed in a fire, involves cases reported between 1951 and 1954. Partial years were used to construct the sample in Kings and New York counties because of the relatively large volume of cases and the limited

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1950's Sample

Entire Year

1952	-	Erie County St. Lawrence County
1953	-	Monroe County

Partial Year

1953 Feb., July, Oct.	Kings County New York County

Combined Years

1952 and 1953	-	Broome County Westchester County
1951 thru 1954	-	Suffolk County

The 1950's sample was generated by recording the names of all the children, and siblings of children, in families reported for suspected child abuse or neglect to either the Children's Court, the Family Court, a public or a private child protective agency in the sample year. The names were obtained in various ways, depending on the agency or court. Intake Register books, court docket books, petition books, case load rosters, and even case records themselves had to be examined in order to establish which children and families were reported for child abuse and neglect in the sample year.

The sample for the second population studied was drawn from the records of juvenile delinquency and ungovernability contacts with the Family Court in the eight counties. In Erie, Kings, New York, St. Lawrence, and Suffolk counties, the sample was drawn from the months of February, July, and October 1971. In Monroe and Suffolk counties, it was the entire case load for 1971. Initial plans were to use 1972 as the sample year, but since it would have meant including some cases that were still open--and hence whose records might not be in the file cabinets--it was decided to use 1971 as the sample year where possible. In two counties, 1972 had to be used in order to include the Probation Intake records, which were not retained for more than a year. (In Broome county, Probation Intake records are kept for only two months.)

1970's Sample

Entire Year

1971 -	Broome County

Partial Year

1971 Feb., July, Oct.	Kings County
	New York County
	St. Lawrence County
	Westchester County
part of Feb-July-October	Erie County
1972 Feb., July, Oct.	Monroe County
	Suffolk County

The Records Used in the Study

Family Court

Probation Intake Records

Since the Probation Service of the Family Court "diverts" approximately 50% of the juveniles known to the Court in delinquency and supervision cases, the Family Court records only contain half of the juvenile cases reported to the Court each year. Therefore, the Probation Intake records were also used to identify children reported as delinquent or ungovernable.

The Probation Intake master file lists all contacts with a juvenile and when the case was adjusted or sent to Court. In New York and Kings counties all the children in one family that had contacts are listed on one card filed under the mother's name. The Probation case records provided the names and ages of all family members and the demographic information needed for the study. Broome county did not keep any records on cases that had been adjusted.

Since probation intake records--especially of adjusted cases--are not preserved for longer than a year, the 1950's sample had few probation intake contacts. Only 208 out of 11,320 contacts were with the court intake unit.

2.1

Court Records

It was possible to identify children brought before the Family Court in child abuse, neglect, juvenile delinquency and supervision proceedings in five of the counties from either the Court's petition file, docket book, or petition ledger, which were all chronologically arranged.

In Broome and Westchester counties the docket books or other indexes from the early 1950's could not be found, and it was necessary to go through the court case records in storage to identify children reported to the Court as abused and neglected twenty years ago. These cases were not sorted by case type, so it was necessary to go through all of them. The Suffolk Family Court building burnt down in 1956 and all of its records were destroyed. However, docket books and case records are intact since 1956.

Besides providing identifying data, some of the docket books or petition ledgers gave the disposition of the case and the referral source. The Court petition contained the names of the parents and the birthdates of the children. Information on the nature of the contact and the court's disposition was obtained from the court case records or legal files on each case.

The Family Courts also had an alphabetically arranged central index file of all cases brought to Court. These indexes were cross referenced for the same individual and show each time he was named on a Court petition. However, the indexes were not cross referenced to other names of the family. In Broome county the case records for one individual are kept together and filed under the most recent case.

Protective Service Agencies

With the exception of the Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Erie county Children's Aid Society and the St. Lawrence Department of Social Services, most protective service agencies either never maintained an intake register or did not keep it for old cases. However, in all counties but Suffolk, the case records were filed by case numbers assigned chronologically, according to the agency's first contact with the family. Therefore, it was easy to locate the case records. Most of the cases were consecutively numbered, though the records of families with long histories did not fit this pattern.

Each child protective agency has an alphabetical master index file of all cases handled by the agency. Most of these indexes did not list the nature of the service involved; in the early 1950's, child protective services often were not distinguished from other child welfare services. In the New York City Department of Social Services, codes designating the units to which cases were assigned had to be deciphered to find out what services were given to the family in order to know which case records had to be read.

Where the index files or registry books give the reason for the service, it was possible to identify the cases of abuse and neglect immediately. The Brooklyn SPCC, Erie CAS and St. Lawrence DSS registry books provided immediate identification of abuse and neglect cases.

BROOME COUNTY

Department of Social Services

In Broome county the Department of Social Service has always handled reports of abuse and neglect. Shortly before the study began, the Department was reorganized. The Department had previously been organized as three separate systems, each with its own set of files. Binghamton had one system, the cities of Union, Endicott, and Johnson City had another, and the third system encompassed the rest of the county.

Before the study began, all records on families in Binghamton whose last contact with the agency was more than ten years old were destroyed. The corresponding cards in the master index file were also destroyed. The Commissioner cited approval from the State Department of Education to do so.

The reorganized Broome DSS maintains two sets of indexes of cases known to the agency. One index is in the central office, and the other in a separate building several miles away that houses the Children's Services division. During the course of the study, the researchers discovered that the index in the central office was not entirely reliable; many cases listed in the Children's Services index were not listed in the central office index. DSS personnel had no explanation for these inconsistencies. Though both indexes were checked, prime reliance was placed on the Children's Services index.

The reorganization of the Department also created problems in obtaining case records. In the consolidation, some records were misplaced and could not be found readily; a few were never located. In other instances, the records on a family were split into parts; the child protective aspect of a case was handled by one worker, and the foster care aspect by a different worker in another unit. When a case was transferred from unit to unit it was often given a new case number and a separate file was created. Therefore, it was necessary to discover the separate elements and records of a case and gather them together. In other situations, an older volume of a case would be in the closed file and the newer one in the active file. Finally, some supposedly missing cases were discovered to be active, even though they were not listed on the roster of active cases. These cases were found by asking individual case workers if they were familiar with the family. Some records were found in desk drawers. The case enteries were typed and generally in chronological order.

Family Court

The Court docket book listed cases monthly by category of charge. It contained the date of the petition, case number, the respondent's name, the child's names, and if it was a DSS case. The docket books are put in a vault at the end of the year. However, the docket books for the early 1950's were missing. Old court records are stored in the dome of the old county building. To identify the 1950's sample, it was necessary to go through boxes in the dome, read the records on families, and find those with a contact in the sample year.

The case records have the same information as the docket book plus the address of the family and the names of all the parties in the action, as well as the details on the referral reasons and disposition of the action. There is one case file for each action. If a child is involved in more than one action all his case files are kept together with a rubberband and filed by the date and number of the most recent case. The numbers of the case records are sequential and issued chronologically. A letter on the outside of the file is a code for the type of case. The coding system was changed in the 1960's to reflect the newer judicial conference coding system.

There is an index file card on each case by the respondent's name. All contacts are cross referenced on the card as well as on the front of the case folder.

Probation

The Probation records from the old Children's Court no longer exist. Even on recent cases, the Department does not keep any record of daily intake beyond two months. The only permanent records were on cases where the Court placed someone on Probation Supervision.

Information obtained in Broome County

Due to the destruction of the Binghamton case records that had been inactive for ten years--the largest population center in Broome county--very little information on the Department of Social Services' involvement with many of the families in the 1950's sample could be obtained. Social Service information on children in the 1970's sample was generally available, however, the researchers often had to look in three or four places before the case record could be found.

From the Family Court, the old cases that came into Court on abuse or neglect petitions were identified and the names, birthdates and the names of the parents were obtained. The disposition, cross-referencing for the past and later cases involving the same individual, and the names and birthdates of other siblings not involved were also obtained and coded from the legal case records.

The docket books also gave the names of children alleged to be delinquent or in need of supervision in 1971. Where a probation investigation report was made, a copy was obtained. The Department of Social Services' and the Court's index indicated if any of these children had been the subject of prior abuse or neglect reports, and the case records supplied the details.

It is interesting to note that in Broome County the Family Court frequently has substituted neglect petitions for delinquency or ungovernability. In some instances the behavior of the juvenile could be attributed to neglect on the part of the parents. However, in most cases the neglect petition was substituted in an attempt to obtain services, and more placement possibilities were available to a child adjudicated neglected or abused rather than delinquent or ungovernable. These changes of petitions were recorded through the coding system.

ERIE COUNTY

Children's Aid Society

The Children's Aid Society handled abuse and neglect reports in the early 1950's. The Department of Social Services had a copy of these case records because the Department reimbursed the Society. The Children's Aid Society's cases appeared on the Department of Social Services master index card file. The Children's Aid Society later merged with the Family Service Society to form the Child and Family Services. This new agency had the old Children's Aid Society's child protective records.

The master index file in the Department of Social Services went back to the early 1950's, and was divided into open and closed cases. The earliest card found by random pulling of five cards was from 1926. The cards, which were filed by the last name of the parent, were cross-referenced. There was no chronological indexing or registration of cases in the Department's records.

The Children's Aid Society's original case records were filed by number. The numbers were assigned chronologically, but the records were not segregated by category of service. The protective case records were mixed with the records of other types of cases. The Children's Aid Society intake register book was preserved, and it was used to identify cases. However, after the data collection began, project staff discovered that there had been an attempt to selectively destroy the old records of the Children's Aid Society. An effort was made to destroy records of families who had not been involved in foster placement. If the family had been involved in a foster placement the cases were retained for fiscal reasons. But the researchers found many records of families with children who had not been placed in foster care. Despite the policy, the destruction of records appeared to have been incomplete and haphazardly executed; it was not possible to estimate how many, if any, case records had been destroyed. The sample year was changed from 1953 to 1952 because the 1952 records were more complete, and it is possible that the planned destruction of records had not been executed for 1952 cases.

Family Court

The Family Court, like the old Children's Court before it, has a petition file with a copy of each petition filed. The file is chronological. After 1962, the file had been organized in accordance with the Judicial Conference numbering system--by category of charge. Hence, neglect petitions were separate from others. Before 1962, the petitions were filed chronologically by number and were not segregated by category of charge. The researchers had to read each petition to see if it involved abuse or neglect because no old docket books were available.

The Court index file was cross-referenced, and included the date, charge, and disposition.

The Probation Department did not adjust abuse or neglect cases in the old Children's Court. They had from 1962, until the time of the study.

The researchers originally collected information on 600 delinquency and ungovernability cases from 1971. However, coding on about 400 of these cases had not been complete before the end of the data collection phase of the study. 200 cases were useable. Before using these cases, project staff had to ascertain if they were representative of the number of cases initiated during the three sample months. The sample was in a comparable ratio to the number filed during the three months and were dispersed throughout the period and the alphabet.

Information obtained in Erie County

From the Children's Aid Society, cases of abuse or neglect reported in 1952 were identified by going through the Intake register book. The case records had all the identifying information needed.

From the old petition file of the Children's Court, the identity of the child, his parents, the case number, the charge, and sometimes the disposition were obtained and coded. From the Court case records, other information about the parents and possible siblings was also obtained. The names of the children in the 1950's sample were checked with the court central index for later delinquency or ungovernability contacts with the court.

Finally, the petition file of the Court and the Probation intake register provide identifying data on supervision and delinquency cases in 1971. The Probation and Court case records supplied other data about the child, the family, and the disposition of the case. These children were then cross-checked with the records of the Children's Aid Society and the Department of Social Services for prior abuse or neglect contacts.

KINGS COUNTY

Protective Service Agencies

The Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children handled reports of abuse and neglect in the early 1950's. Cases were identified through their registry book, which contained the family name and case number, family address, and the nature of the charges and the source of the report.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children also maintains two indexes, one by street address, and the other by family name. The index card lists the children and their birthdates, plus the dates of the agency's contacts with the family and the nature of the referral. The family index cards are white, and are cross-referenced to orange cards that list the respondent in child rape and assault cases handled by the agency. The 1970's sample was check through this index for prior abuse and neglect contacts.

The case records were uniformly in good condition. They were typed and bound, and in chronological order. The record generally provided all the demographic information required for the study. In most cases there was a yellow intake sheet in the case case record for each contact the family had with the agency. The intake sheet contained a paragraph summarizing the nature of the complaint and listed the referral source. The record also contained a closing summary. In between was an extensive narrative.

It is the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children's policy to withdraw or close cases that are active with a public agency. Some cases were accepted for service and then closed when the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children learned that the Department of Social Services or the Family Court was also involved with the family. Other cases were rejected at intake for the same reason.

The Bureau of Child Welfare of the New York City Department of Social Services also handled abuse and neglect cases, parental requests for foster care, and placements ordered by the Family Court or arranged by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. After protracted negotiations, the Select Committee gained access to the Bureau of Child Welfare's files in February, 1974. Cases known to the Department were identified through the agency's 5x8 master index system of closed and active cases. The entire Kings, New York, Suffolk and Westchester samples were checked through this central file because of the population shifts among their counties. Over 500 cases from these four counties were known to the Bureau of Child Welfare.

The Department of Social Services destroys the records of cases that have not been active for ten years. Even though negotiations with the Department of Social Services dated from July, 1973, the cases from 1963 were destroyed on schedule; thus 50 more cases from the sample were lost. 200 of the original 500 cases were destroyed.

The 5x8 cards used letter codes to designate the type of service and the unit to which the case was assigned. Project staff felt that the cases might be codeable if the 5x8 codes could be interpreted. The 5x8 personnel could not recall the meaning of the older codes, nor could anyone recall the existence of any instruction booklets on coding the 5x8 cards. Department memos and directive were available from its library, but they were very incomplete and did not provide enough information. Eventually, project staff discovered that the Columbia University School of Social Work library had copies of the monthly news magazines published by the Department of Social Services. The magazines contained announcements of the creation of all new bureaus and units within the agency and frequently had profiles on the various departments of the Department of Social Services. By reading the magazines, project staff was able to create a chronological chart of the development of the Bureau of Child Welfare. The chart and the Department of Social Services' memo enabled project staff to code all but 16 of the 200 destroyed cases by diciphering the data in the master index.

The majority of the intact cases were in the Department of Social Services' warehouse. A request form was required for each case; a clerk forwarded the requests to the warehouse and the cases were sent back to the Bureau of Child Welfare. Although the requests were handed in bulk, the cases were sent to the Bureau of Child Welfare one at a time.

The case records were typed, but not always in chronological order. Many cases were exceedingly long and contained case narrative that was irrelevant to the needs of the study, if not the child protective investigation. Since there were no intake sheets or closing summaries, it was necessary to read all of the extraneous narrative to extract the data needed for the study.

Probation Intake

Though housed in the Kings County Family Court building, the Department of Probation maintains its own index and case files. The Probation index lists all cases known to the department. The index cards are filed by the family name, with the mother's name as the identifier. The card lists the names of the parents and the names and birthdates of all siblings known to the department. The card provides the probation file case number, and the dates the case was opened, adjusted, or sent to court. The case type and referral reason are not listed.

The researchers were requested to make out an out card for each case removed from the Probation files. In addition, they were required to make a duplicate list of all cases taken from the files. The record room supervisor checked each case against the list before allowing them to be taken out of the room and read. The same procedure was repeated when the cases were returned. Unfortunately, the same restricitions were not placed on Probation personnel. Although a sign on the front of each file cabinet stated that an out card was required, numerous cases were missing without the card being in the cabinet. The researchers frequently observed Probation officers removing cases without using an out card. In addition, many Probation officers did not return cases, and either left them on top of the file cabinets or in a box in the corner of the room to be refiled by the record room clerks.

The existence of an out card did not guarantee that the case could be located. Some out cards indicated that the case had been borrowed by an Intake worker two years earlier. The branch chief of Intake informed the researchers that this was impossible, since Intake can only legally hold a case for 60 days before disposing of it. However, the students learned that some Probation officers accumulated case records into a large pile in their offices before returning them to the record room. Other cases were found in the record room either misfiled or stuffed inside another record.

Eventually, by checking these possibilities, nearly all of the case records were found. The records contained an intake sheet which supplied the necessary demographic information, and the probation officers hand written notes of the interviews conducted in the case. Some of the larger cases had material stuffed into them without regards to chronological order; often there were four or five copies of the sample piece of paper in the folder. When the Court asked Probation to file a formal report on the case, the record often contained a psychological evaluation of the child that could be coded into client characteristics.

Family Court

The docket books of the Court list all cases in chronological sequence. They list the type of petition, date, name and address of the petitioner and respondent, the age of the respondent and the disposition of the case.

The Court also has a master index that is alphabetically arranged, and provides the names of the parents, the child's birthdate, the probation case number, and all the docket numbers of any possible court contacts. The cards are filed by the child's name; each child in the family has its own card. The cards are not cross-referenced to other family members.

The researchers identified the 1970's sample from the Court docket book and the Probation Intake registry; the 1950's sample was identified from the Court docket book. Both samples were checked through the Court index for prior or subsequent protective and juvenile contacts.

The researchers soon discovered that there were many inadequacies in the Court index. Some cards were out of alphabetical order, and others were difficult to find because the family name was not spelled correctly. In attempting to locate some of the probation files, the researchers found that the Probation case numbers listed in the Court index did not always exist. Apparently, the Probation Records branch chief had instituted a new case numbering system in which many older cases were given new numbers. These changes were not noted on the cards in the Court index. As a consequence, the researcher staff had to rely on the Probation Intake index for the proper case numbers. In doing so, they discovered that the Intake file listed contacts as being sent to court for which there were no docket numbers in the Court index file. This problem was resolved by noting the date the case was sent to court and looking in the corresponding Court docket book for the correct Court docket number.

Moreover, the docket numbers listed in the Court index were not always accurate; many often involved a different child. This problem was solved in the same manner as that of missing docket numbers--by using the Intake index and the Court docket book.

Court petitions before 1969 were kept in a locked room in the basement of the courthouse. The temperature control system of the Family Court also provides heat and air conditioning for the Supreme Court building located across the street. The pipes ran through the room in which the records were stored. The heat in the room was so oppressive--over 100°--that the researchers could only pull records for short periods of time. Besides the human discomfort, the excessive heat had dried out many of the records, causing some to crumble when handled.

Information obtained in Kings County

From the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children's daily Register book, the child protective cases in the 1950's sample were identified. From the case records, the disposition, as well as the referral reason and names and birthdates of any siblings not involved in the original report, and parents' birthdates were obtained and coded. The Society's Central index of names was used to cross-reference the 1970's sample identified in the Family Court.

The Court docket books identified the children with child protection court contacts in the 1950's sample and juvenile delinquency or ungovernability court contacts in the 1970's sample. The court index file indicated whether the children in both samples were brought to court in other protective or juvenile cases. The court file record had the specific information on each contact, including the disposition.

The Probation records covered the entire family and were cross-referenced for other members of the family; they showed if anyone else in that family came into the Family Court.

NEW YORK COUNTY

The record keeping systems of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Bureau of Child Welfare, Family Court and Department of Probation were the same as those in Kings County. However, the difficulties in locating Court and Probation files were in no way comparable to those in Kings. All of the New York Family Court records were kept in one room, and the master index files were free of the spelling errors and inaccurate case numbers which appeared in the Kings index. While the Probation Department did not require out cards, all files that were in use had to be kept in a single file cabinet centrally located near the Probation Officers interview rooms. The only time that a case was removed from this file was when the client was being interviewed. When a case was not in the central files, the researchers generally found it in this other file. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children index was accurate and the files were locatable. The problems in obtaining the Bureau Child Welfare's files were exactly the same as they were for Kings County cases because they were in the same system.

MONROE COUNTY

Department of Social Services

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which handled abuse and neglect reports in the early 1950's, merged with the Department of Social Services, which has kept the old Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children records. The Society index file cards were alphabetically arranged for all cases from the 1940's and gave names, birthdates, case numbers, and subsequent contacts; there was an incomplete index file for earlier cases. The index files are kept with the Department of Social Services index files. The Society's and the Department's case records are stored in the basement. If a case becomes active again, the closed file is still kept in the basement, where the worker must go to read it. A face sheet gives the name, birthdate, address, and the place of birth of the child. The case records gave the identifying data about parents and siblings and the details of each contact.

Since the Society merged with the Department, the Department of Social Services has used two different systems for its own records, the most current since 1970. The families identified from the old Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children files were also checked through the two Department of Social Services index systems for later child protective contacts.

Family Court

The Court had the records from the old Children's Court, including the petition ledger from 1952. The Family Court uses a similar ledger today. The petition ledger gives the name, and age of the child, a case number, the nature of the complaint, source of referral and person who made it, composition of the home in which the child was living at the time, address, the investigator who handled the report, and the date of the court hearing. To identify 1952 cases, the Children's Court's petition ledger was used. The Children's Court maintained ledgers according to which file the cases were stored in. The "B" file consisted of abuse, neglect, paternity and non-support cases. To create the sample, the researchers had to go through the "B" file to sort the abuse and neglect cases out from the paternity and non-support cases.

The master index file is alphabetical by the last name of the respondent. It has the name of the child, address, case number, parents' name and address, date, offense, and disposition. It includes both Court and Probation cases.

Probation records were kept as part of the Court case records until 1972. Because the Probation Department is under the jurisdiction of the Court, there were no separate files. If a case was adjusted without any court action, it is listed as "unofficial" and no record was kept.

There were no problems in obtaining case records in Monroe County. An interesting aspect of the cases handled by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children came to attention. Some parents were charged with neglect when their lack of adequate supervision resulted in their children committing delinquent or ungovernable offenses. Since only one case type could be recorded, the researchers had to decide whether these cases should be considered as child protective or juvenile cases. Because the focus of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was on protective services, and its cases were handled as such these cases were coded as abuse or neglect cases, depending on the type of maltreatment reproted.

Information obtained in Monroe County

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children files were obtained from the Department of Social Services. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children index file identified the 1950's sample, including the name of the child, his birthdate, the year of the complaint, case number, and actions taken. The case record provided the names and birthdates of siblings, as well as the referral reasons and dispositions of reports.

From the petition ledger in the Family Court, it was possible to identify the child, his birthdate, his parents' names, number of children in the family, and disposition of the case. To identify siblings not included on the petition it was necessary to go to the case records which also provide the parents' birthdates. To court index file was used to find later delinquents or ungovernability contacts.

From the petitioner ledger, supervision and delinquency proceedings in 1972 were identified, and their names were checked in the old Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children index and the Department of Social Services index to find if there were any prior abuse or neglect reports involving the children and their families.

It should be noted that the records in Monroe County were the most complete and carefully preserved of the eight counties studied. An obvious, and appreciated, effort had been made to keep these records intact for future use. The completeness of records and the higher correlations found among the children in Monroe Court are probably not coincidental.

ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY

Department of Social Services

The Department of Social Services investigated reports of child abuse and neglect in the early 1950's, and it still does today.

All the department's case records for any type of cases, including child protective services, other welfare services, public assistance, medical assistance, and county home, are filed together by numbers assigned chronologically.

Many of the older records were kept in two rooms in the basement of the old county home that housed the department. In one of the rooms the records were kept in boxes which were placed around the rooms without regards to chronology. Although it required some time to locate many of these cases, eventually all of them were located. (Since the data collection was completed, the department has moved into a new building.)

There was a daily Register of Request for Service for child welfare. The earliest register found dated from 1952. The Register was used as an index to identify and separate child welfare cases from other case records. Some of the child welfare entries specified that they were for abuse and neglect, but other entries were not identified. It was necessary sometimes to read the child welfare case record to determine whether the referral was a report of suspected child abuse, neglect, or whether it was a referral for placement. If abuse or neglect were not mentioned in the referral, it was not included in the sampel as a child protective case.

The department also maintains a central index of cases, distinguishing the broad categories of services provided. Both the 1950's and 1970's sample were checked through this index for other contacts with the department.

Family Court

The neglect and abuse cases were identified from the old Children's Court docket books that the Family Court has. The docket book lists the complaint, the child's name, the docket number, birthdate and sex of the child, name and address of the petitioner, religion, name and address of the parents, date of the initial hearing, and sometimes the disposition.

Before 1967, there was no Probation Intake; each case went directly into Court. A control book from that time, governing the issuance of Probation numbers arranged by category of offense, was located. Older Probation files are unnumbered and filed alphabetically. Numbering began in 1961.

Files from the 1950's are not cross-referenced, there is a central index file listing the contacts of each child which was used to cross-reference both samples.

Information obtained in St. Lawrence County

From the Department of Social Services intake register book, child protective cases were identified. Some had to be identified by reading the child welfare case records, when the index did not specify the type of service involved. From the case record, the child's name and birthdate, address, names and birthdates of parents and siblings, and disposition of the report were obtained.

From the Family Court docket book, the child's name and birthdate, sex and names of parents. From the case records, all the dispositions and names and birthdates of siblings not involved in the petition were recorded.

The docket books and Probation Intake records also gave the names and case numbers of children alleged to be delinquent or in need of supervision in 1972. These names were checked in the Department of Social Services index for prior reports of abuse or neglect.

SUFFOLK COUNTY

Department of Social Services

The Department of Social Services handled abuse and neglect reports in the early 1950's, and it does so today.

Daily registers exist for the years since 1959. The child welfare records were stored in a room at the Central Office file in Bayshore, the more recent cases in the new building at Happague.

The old chronological case files were re-filed in a terminal digit numbering system. This system was not based on chronology but according to the last digits of the case number. Since there was no intake register before 1959, all the boxes in storage at the Bayshore office had to be searched and each case read to find ones with child protective contacts. Once found, the case records provided all the information needed. The Department's Central index was used to cross-reference the 1950's and 1970's samples for other contacts.

Family Court

Because a fire destroyed the old Court House in 1956, there are no court records before then.

The Court had docket books since 1956 which were used to identify cases. The Court case records contained all the identifying information needed.

The docket books were used to identify 1972 delinquency and supervision cases.

The master index file was used to see if a child from the 1950's sample returned to the Court after 1956.

The Probation section did not handle abuse or neglect. They begin with supervision petitions, and though the Police Department files delinquency petitions, the Probation section listed them on its own index file. Families were not cross-referenced in the index file.

Information obtained in Suffolk County

From the Department of Social Services case records, the names of children reported as abused or neglected, their birthdates, the names and birthdates of parents and siblings, and the disposition of the report were obtained.

Because of the fire destroying the Family Court, data on abuse and neglect or juvenile cases that went to Court before 1956 was not available. If the child was brought before the court after 1956, his name was found by checking through the master index file.

From the docket books and case records, all the data needed about supervision and delinquency cases in 1972 was obtained. The names were cross-checked with the Department of Social Services index for prior abuse or neglect reports.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children--Department of Social Services

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children handled reports of abuse and neglect in the early 1950's. After the Society merged with the Department of Social SErvices, the Department destroyed the old Society records that were not active within the last ten years. Some records were lost when they apparently fell off a truck while being moved.

Family Court

There are no docket books left from the old Children's Court, but the Court case records for abuse and neglect cases are still intact. It was necessary to go through the case records, which were given numbers in chronological order, to identify the children and obtain the data needed about them and members of their family. The case records provided the child's name and birthdate, names and birthdates of siblings, a copy of any Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children report that was submitted to the Court, the referral reason and the disposition.

Because there were no child protective agency contacts, the 1950's sample was small. Therefore, the researchers used all the 1953 contacts and half of the 1952 contacts to create the sample.

The Probation section did not handle abuse or neglect.

The docket books list supervision and delinquency cases from 1971 and the case records have the identifying date, names and birthdates, of the child, parents, and siblings, and disposition.

Some of the 1950's Court cases had dual referral reasons; much in the same manner as the 1950's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Monroe County where the parents were charged with inadequate supervision when a young child committed a delinquent act. Likewise, these situations were recorded as neglect contacts, since that was how the agency viewed the situation.

Information obtained in Westchester County

Only children who went to Court on abuse or neglect petitions in the early 1950's were identified because the Department of Social Services destoryed the old Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children records. The Court records were complete enough to give the data needed.

The Probation Intake records and Court docket books identified children reported as delinquent or in need of supervision in 1971. They were checked in the Department of Social Services index for prior abuse or neglect reports.

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS AND CODING SYSTEM

Two data collection instruments were used, the family and the child data sheets. A data code book provided a list of codes for each category of information and instructed the researchers on how to complete the data sheets.

The Family Data Sheet

The mother's maiden and married names, alaises and names from previous marriages were recorded on the family data sheet. Since many agencies file their information under the mother's name, this information was often needed to discover contacts.

The family data sheet also provided space for listing up to four biological fathers and designating which children they sired. The first and last names of all the children were recorded, along with their birthdates. Since some agencies reported different birthdates for a child, alternate birthdates were recorded when found. In both samples the names of all family members were recorded on the family data sheet.

Because of the confidentiality of the records used in the study, names were only recorded for data collection purposes. An identification number was assigned to each family and consisted of a county and sample number and a four digit code given to each family in sequence from 0001. The computer program used to analyze the data recorded the code numbers rather than names.

The total number of children and biological fathers in the family were also recorded. Space was also provided for recording non-child protective contacts involving the parents, such as custody, non-support, and family offense proceedings. In the 1970's sample, if a parent abused or neglected a child other than the one in the sample, this information was recorded as a parent contact.

The Child Data Sheet

The child data sheet listed the family identifying number with two extra digits to distinguish each child. The child's full name, or alternate name, date of birth, alternate date of birth, and possible date of death were recorded on the child data sheet.

Demographic information, including the child's sex, ethnicity, religion and wedlock status, the place of his mother's birth, whether or not his parents were living together and the type and number of non-siblings living in the household were also recorded.

Information on each contact the child had with the juvenile justice or child protection systems was recorded on individual contact lines. The following information was recorded on each contact: the agency involved, the type of case, the case record number, the date of contact, who referred the case, the reasons for the referral, the person(s) charged with the offense, characteristics of the child known to the agency, whether or not there was a finding, the disposition of the case, the date of the first disposition, the date of last contact with the family or child, and where applicable, the name of the agency with which the child was placed.

In the 1950's sample, information on every child in the family was recorded on a separate child data sheet. The appropriate demographic information was filled out on each child and a contact line was completed each time the child was named in a report of suspected child abuse or neglect or named as the respondent in a delinquency or PINS petition or Probation Intake report. If the child was never named in any reports, the contact lines were left blank. In the 1970's sample, only children named in delinquency and PINS cases from the sample months received a child data sheet. The names of their siblings were recorded on the family data sheet but not on individual child data sheets.

The data code book provided the codes for filling out each category of information on a contact line.

The agency or court involved was designated by a two digit code combining a number designating each county and a number designating the agencies or court.

	County
1	Broome
2	Erie
3	Kings
4	Monroe
5	New York
6	St. Lawrence
7	Suffolk
8	Westchester
9	Other

Agency Codes

1 All *private* child protective agencies, *i.e.*, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC), and the Erie County Children's Aid Society

2 Department of Probation

3 Family Court or Children's Court

4 All public child protective agencies, *i.e.* child protective services of the Department of Social Services (DSS or DOSS), *e.g.*, the Bureau of Child Welfare (BCW), Family and Child Welfare Division (FCW) or Child Welfare (CW) but not an SPCC.

5 Public assistance agency, *i.e.* Welfare, income maintenance, DSS or DOSS

6 All other agencies, public and private, *e.g.*, Bellevue Hospital, narcotics agencies

7 Referred to courts other than Family Court/Children's Court

There were seven codes for designating the type of case.

1 Neglect or Abuse (court only)

2 Neglect or Abuse (all other agencies)

3 Juvenile Delinquency

4 Ungovernability (PINS)

5 Agency Referral

6 Parent Offenses (other than neglect or abuse)

7 All others or unknown

Distinguishing case types in the records of the social service agencies was not always easy. In some counties there was no real distinction made between child protective and general child welfare cases. Sometimes the reasons for each type were similar; the only difference was what the referring person chose to call the problem. No case was included in the study unless the referral reason was specifically for suspected child abuse or neglect. In most cases the agency's intake register or master index would classify the case as protective or otherwise. The agency identification number was recorded in case the record had to be pulled and read a second time. The ID number was not recorded in the computer program.

The date of first contact was the date a specific incident was first reported to the agency. For Family Court and Probation contacts, this was the date on the petition or intake sheet. For protective agencies it was the date of the first entry in the case narrative, unless there was an earlier intake report.

Data Collected

There were 21 codes for distinguishing the person or institution which referred the case to the agency or court.

01 All private child protective agencies, i.e., Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC), and the Erie County Children's Aid Society

02 Department of Probation

03 Family Court or Children's Court

04 All public child protective agencies, i.e., child protective services of the Department of Social Services (DSS or DOSS), e.g., the Bureau of Child Welfare (BCW), Family and Child Welfare Division (FCW) or Child Welfare (CW) but not SPCC

05 Public assistance agency, i.e., Welfare, income maintenance, DSS or DOSS

06 Respondent's parent

07 Respondent's spouse or former spouse

08 Other members of respondent's family or household

09 Prosecutor

10 Police

11 Public Health Agency (includes hospitals and health clinics)

12 School

13 Private medical doctor

14 Complainant (victim or witness of crime or misconduct in JD and PINS case)

15 Neighbor

16 Clergy

17 Custodian (person caring for child, e.g., a babysitter, or person with whom parent has arranged for child's care)

18 Residential, agency e.g., orphanage, a child care institution or legal foster parents, i.e., those associated with some child caring or human service agency

19 Anonymous

20 Other or unknown

21 Prior parental request for placement without neglect complaint

There were 56 codes for recording the referral reasons for abuse, neglect, delinquency, ungovernability, and miscellaneous categories. Since children and families are often reported for more than one reason, space was provided for listing up to six referral reasons for each contact.

In collecting data on children and families for a period of one or two decades, the study had to account for the changes in legal definitions and case classifications that occurred during that period. For example, there was no PINS category before the enactment of the Family Court Act in 1962; until then ungovernability was considered a form of juvenile delinquency. Similarly, child abuse was considered a form of aggravated neglect. The system of codes was carefully designed to achieve a conformity that was both undistorting and comparable. The codes for referral reason specify types of behavior that parents and children engage in, rather than changing legal or program definitions. Stealing, truancy, burglary, child battering and neglect are types of behavior that occurred 20 years ago as well as today, regardless of what people chose to label them. The referral codes denote the behavior rather than the label assigned to it.

ild Abuse	01	Brutally or continually battered--bestial, vicious, extreme attack on child
	02	Other physical attacks
	03	Risks of physical injury to child
	04	Sex offenses against child--sexual abuse of child by parents
ild Neglect	05	Impairment of mental and/or emotional health of child
	06	Inadequate food, shelter and clothing, such as to impair the physical health of child, exclusive of malnutrition
	07	Malnutrition
	08	Inadequate educational care--e.g., parents fail to insure that child attends school
	09	Inadequate medical or surgical care
	10	Abandonment or desertion
	11	Involuntary parental absence, e.g., jail or hospitalization of parent
	12	Parental use of drugs
	13	Parental alcoholism
	14	Parental sexual misconduct
	15	Parental mental illness, emotional disturbance or retardation
	16	Parental fighting (verbal and/or physical)
	17	Inadequate supervision, e.g., mother leaving home with child either unattended or in the care of another minor child
nile linquency	18	Homicide
	19	Arson
	20	Rape
	21	Other sex crimes
	22	Narcotics violation

23 Robbery--steal from person

24 Burglary--steal from house

25 Assault

26 Auto theft (only when specified as auto)

27 Unauthorized use of auto (joy riding)

28 Larceny, not auto

29 Dangerous weapons

30 Malicious mischief

31 Unlawful entry

32 Possession of burglar's tools

33 Gambling

34 Receiving stolen property

35 Unlawful assembly

36 Disorderly conduct, e.g., loitering or abusive or obscene language, or harassment

Juvenile Ungovernability

37 Running away from home (including institution or foster home)

38 Habitual truancy

39 Refusal to obey

40 Sexual misconduct

41 Staying out late

42 Associating with bad companions

43 Using vile language (not to be confused with Disorderly Conduct definition of abusive or obscene language, see code 36)

44 Intoxication

45 Glue Sniffing

46 Other offense or unknown (for delinquency or ungovernability)

Miscellaneous

47 Placement (temporary or permanent)

48 Evaluation (psychiatric or medical)

49 Violation of Probation

50 Family Offenses

51 Non-support

52 Parent previously alleged to have abused or neglected a child (in addition to specific child abuse or neglect reason, if known)

53 Parent previously reported as an abused or neglected child (to be used in addition to specific child abuse or neglect reason, if known)

54 Parents in jail

55 Other or unknown (for abuse or neglect)

56 Parents request for placement

There were nine codes for indicating the person charged with the contact. In agency records, the person charged was generally named in the opening paragraph of the case narrative or on the intake sheet. In Court and Probation records, the person charged was referred to as the "respondent."

01 Mother

02 Father

03 Both mother and father

04 Other household member

05 Both mother and other household member

06 Child (the juvenile in juvenile delinquency or person in need of supervision in PINS cases)

07 Other custodian, e.g., a foster parent, baby sitter, or residential agency

08 Other or unknown

09 No one

There were 14 codes for client characteristics--descriptions of the child's physical, mental or emotional state made by a professional such as a social worker, case worker or psychiatrist. Surprisingly, most social service and court records did not have this information. Since the official records for 93% of the contacts in the 1950's sample and 88% of the contacts in the 1970's sample had no information or description of the child's physical and mental state, since there was no indication of any evaluation or assessment of the child, an analysis of the characteristics of the children was not possible, and the data was dropped from the study.

A "finding" for child protective agencies meant the acceptance of the case for service. "No finding" meant the case was rejected at intake or the case record clearly showed there was no basis for the allegations of suspected child abuse or neglect. Court petitions stated that there was a finding on admission or upon the judgment of the court after a fact finding hearing. Modern court petitions usually contain a prepared form which states whether or not there has been a finding. When a Court case was unfounded, the record would specify the result of the fact finding hearing in such terms as "no finding" or "dismissed without prejudices."

A finding did not always mean any action resulted. A Court case can be dismissed after a finding because no further action is required or the situation that prompted the referral had changed. For example, the Court often dismisses JD and PINS cases for a first time offender even though the allegations are true. In child protective cases, the impendency of court action may convince a parent to "cooperate" or voluntarily agree to a "temporary" placement. The finding and the disposition of a case are two different elements not to be confused with each other. No further action or dismissal, it is often said, are more related to the availability of treatment services, the court calendar, and the attitude of the respondent, than to the accuracy of the allegations.

Private agencies such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children reject or withdraw from cases that are active with a public agency. When a child or family has multiple petitions before the Court, the petitions will often be consolidated or discharged to a single petition. In these situations a finding may never be clearly established on all of the charges, only on the one focused upon. These cases are often "dismissed because already active with the court or another agency."

For the purpose of the study, an agency disposition consisted of the action taken by the agency in the case. On Court petitions a disposition was a formal judicial order rendered at a dispositional hearing. Modern court petitions contain a form specifying the disposition. In Court cases, a child is often put in detention or temporary placement pending the outcome of the fact finding and dispositional hearings; such actions were not considered to be dispositions and were not recorded. When a placement or probation was extended beyond the original order, the appropriate code was reported for each extension. Since a case could have several dispositions, or the disposition may change, room was provided for listing up to six dispositions. There were 13 codes for the various possible dispositions of a case.

1 No further action (e.g., withdrawn, dismissed, or discharged)

2 Referred to court (usually by probation intake or SPCC)

3 Referred to another agency (e.g. adjustment)

4 Released to non-respondent parent or guardian (that is, the custody is changed; this often occurs in custody cases)

5 Released to respondent parent uder supervision. (use this category for abuse, neglect, JD and PINS including for "probation supervisor"

6 Released to respondent (parent) under supervision with day care of homemaker services provided

7 Child placed with other relative

8 Child placed with public agency

9 Child placed with private agency

10 Disposition not yet made**

11 Court proceeding changed from PINS or JD to neglect or abuse, or vice versa.

12 Child removed from jurisdiction of agency

13 Other or unknown

The date of first disposition and date of last contact were recorded so later analysis could measure the length of each contact, and determine whether certain types of cases were handled faster than others. These dates could be used to ascertain if there was any relationship between the referral reason, how long a case remained open and any later problems of the children. The date of last contact was the date the case was officially closed, or the last dated entry in the case record. If a case was still active, a date of last contact was not recorded.

Data was collected during July and August, 1973. Six counties were completed by August 31st. Kings county was finished in the second week of September; Erie county in the middle of October. The data collection in Erie county took longer than expected because the number of cases involved was higher than anticipated and because there were two separate child protective agencies whose records had to be checked, read, and coded. Kings was completed late because of the poor performance and low productivity of the first group of researchers. In the last week of August, the original team was replaced with a new team of students who had finished work in other counties, and the data coded by the first team was discarded.

The original plan called for this phase of the project to be fully completed by September, 1973. However, difficulties in obtaining the necessary data from the New York City Department of Social Services, Bureau of Child Welfare, delayed completion of this phase until April, 1974. The New York Department of Social Services tried to claim that their records were confidential and unavailable to the Select Committee even after the State Department of Social Services informed them otherwise. From July, 1973 to February, 1974, the Select Committee had to go through protracted negotiations with representatives of the City Department of Social Services and the Mayor's Legislative Liaison in Albany before the City acknowledged the Committee's legal right to have access to Bureau of Child Welfare records.

After the data had been collected and coded, project staff read over each data sheet looking for errors and omissions. Since many families were known to several agencies it was often possible to trace the path of an incident. Many families were first known to the Probation Department or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which then referred the case to the Family Court, which then placed the children with the local Department of Social Services for placement or supervision. In these cases there would have been three contacts for a single incident. A letter code was added to each contact that was part of one incident.

Once the data sheets had been edited, a random sample of cases from each county was chosen. Project staff then visited each county and checked the records to verify the accuracy of the coding. Once it was determined that the data had been collected and coded properly, the sheets were ready to be key punched.

In accordance with the Select Committee's status as a state agency, a computer firm was selected on the basis of a competitive bid. Unfortunately, the firm that was retained failed to key-punch the data as instructed and reneged on its original estimate of the total cost of producing the desired material. Furthermore, a random sample of the work produced revealed a key punching error rate of 20%. Upon the advice of the State Comptroller's Office, a decision was made not to pay the firm and to seek a new company. The Computer Activity Group at Cornell University was selected to re-punch the data and produce marginal tables for analysis. Nearly a year's time was lost in switching firms. The data had to be key-punched and verified a second time. This was a time consuming process because the data required almost 50,000 keypunch cards.

Appendix D

Original Approved Research Plan

RESEARCH PLAN

Statement of Problem

Many professionals working with abused and neglected children report that these children show a high potential for socially deviant behavior. These reports are based on the clinical observations or impressions of professionals dealing with these children. There is a need to measure the actual relationship between child abuse and neglect and the problems of later criminality, drug use, mental disorder and future child abuse by past victims of abuse. We propose to study this relationship: (1) by identifying a group of abused and/or neglected children and determining their subsequent history, and (2) by identifying a group of delinquent children and children in need of supervision and determining if their previous history includes officially suspected abuse or neglect.

Method

Phase I. Developing the Data Base

Task I. Identification of Abused or Neglected Children From the Early 1950's

The first step of the study is the collection of the names of children officially suspected to be abused or neglected in the early 1950's in eight counties of New York State (Broome, Erie, Kings, Monroe, New York, St. Lawrence, Suffolk and Westchester). These children and their families would be the population to be studied. The project would build a name file of these children and families by searching the records of the Family Court and public and private protective service agencies in these counties. From this search essential identifying data would be obtained, including the names, addresses and birthdates of the children, and as possible, of siblings and parents and the nature of the maltreatment. In addition, information concerning the disposition of the report or proceeding would be obtained.

Task II. Identification of Children Alleged to be Delinquent or In Need of Supervision in 1972

The same kind of identifying data would be obtained from the Family Courts and the Probation Intake Services of the eight counties for children alleged to be delinquent and in need of supervision in 1972.

Phase II. Tracking the Client Population

Task I. Tracking of Children Alleged to be Delinquent or In Need of Supervision in 1972

Using the names and other identifying data of the children alleged to be delinquent or in need of supervision in 1972, the project will determine if these children were previously reported as abused or neglected. If possible, the same will be done for the siblings and family. Such tracking will be accomplished by searching the records of both the Family Court and appropriate public and private protective services agencies.

Task II. Tracking of Abused or Neglected Children From the Early 1950's

Obtaining the identifying data on the children officially suspected to be abused or neglected will enable the tracking of these children through the Family Court's records and various information systems, such as those of the New York State Information and Investigation Service, the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, the New York State Judicial Conference, the New York State Department of Health Narcotic Register (when completed), and the New York State Department of Social Services Central Register on Child Abuse and Neglect. Since these information systems are largely computerized and keyed to the data which will have been collected during Phase I, use of these records should be facilitated. It should be noted that during the planning phase of this project all these information systems were visited and all agreed to cooperate fully with the project. In addition, if the data suggests other areas of inquiry, such as alcoholic abuse, these will be pursued.

Phase III. Analysis of Data

Using the data collected from Family Courts, protective agencies and the various information systems, the project will answer questions such as the following:

(1) Contact with the criminal justice system:

a) How many of the children previously abused or neglected have been arrested or convicted?

b) What offenses did they commit and what was the frequency of specific offenses?

c) What is the average age of the first and subsequent arrests?

d) What is the average number of arrests for each child?

e) If possible, what was the result of the criminal court proceedings, *e.g.*, dismissal, probation or imprisonment?

f) If possible, how many siblings of the children have been arrested or convicted, etc.?

(2) Contact with the juvenile justice system:

a) How many of the children officially suspected to be abused or neglected in the early 1950's were known subsequently by the Family Court or probation service for delinquency, ungovernability or child abuse or neglect? If possible, what was the nature of the earlier abuse or neglect?

b) How many children alleged to be delinquent or in need of supervision in 1972 had a previous history of child abuse or neglect? (Note: This figure will include those children known to protective services agencies even if their cases were not brought to the Family Court.)

c) If possible, the same information about siblings for both groups of children will be sought.

(3) Contact with the mental health system:

a) How many of these children have been known to New York State's mental health system? If possible, what was the nature of the earlier abuse or neglect?

b) What was the reason for contact and the frequency of specific diagnosis?

c) What is the average age of first and subsequent contact?

d) What is the average frequency of contacts for each child?

e) If possible, what was the result of the contact, *e.g.* out-patient or institutionalized?

f) If possible, how many siblings of the children have had contact with the mental health system, etc.?

(4) Contact with the child protective system:

a) How many of the children were subsequently reported as abusing or neglecting parents? If possible, what was the nature of the earlier abuse or neglect?

b) If possible, what was the nature of the maltreatment and what was the frequency of specific forms of abuse or neglect?

c) What was the average age of the first and subsequent reports?

d) If possible, what was the result of the report?

e) If possible, how many siblings of these children were subsequently reported as abusing or neglecting parents, etc.?

(5) Contact with the drug treatment system:

The State's Narcotic Register is in the process of being created. If it is operational before the project is terminated, it should be possible to determine how many of the children officially suspected to be abused or maltreated have been known to various drug treatment programs. It is understood that this will be the least accurate or representative information system, however, the significance of even minimal statistics in regard to drug use argue in favor of using this system, if it is created.

(6) Contact with more than one of the above systems:

The number and nature of those cases known to more than one of the above systems will be analysed.

(7) Analysis of the effect of handling of report of child abuse or neglect on later history:

a) Was there any difference in later history among those children handled solely by social agencies and those handled by the Family Court or by both?

b) Was there any difference in later history among those children by the nature of the disposition, e.g., foster family care, institutional care or probation?

Results

The project will issue a report explaining the findings of its study assessing the relationship between child abuse or neglect and later socially deviant behavior. The data collected will enable the project to determine if there is a high correlation between child abuse and neglect and later criminality, juvenile delinquency, children in need of supervision, mental disorder, drug addiction, or future abusing and neglecting parents.

The project, also, will attempt to use the data to evaluate child protective programs through an analysis of the results of different dispositions of cases.

If the findings support the belief that abused and neglected children become delinquents, criminals, or drug addicts, then these findings can be used as an empirical basis for planning services that recognize the link between abuse and later deviance. Hopefully, the findings could be used to develop a program of delinquency prevention through rehabilitative services to abused and neglected children before their environment damages them permanently. If the findings suggest that constructive intervention with family stabilization services can work, then a knowing effort can be made to halt an aspect of the criminal creating process.

Appendix E

Summary of Contact Data

1950's Samples

County Totals Sample 1950 s

Number of Contacts Per Child

5136 total children

4465 with contacts

1423 total families

3.61 average number of children per family

5.23 average number of people per household

1.94

None	671	
One	1718	38.48%
Two	1013	22.69%
Three	691	15.48%
Four	423	9.47%
Five	259	5.80%
Six	151	3.38%
Seven	88	1.97%
Eight	52	1.16%
Nine	31	0.69%
Ten	14	0.31%
Eleven	10	0.22%
Twelve	9	0.20%
Thirteen	4	0.09%
Fourteen	2	0.04%
Fifteen	0	-
Sixteen	0	-
Seventeen	0	-
Eighteen	0	-
Ninteen	0	-
Twenty	0	-
Twenty-one	0	-
Twenty-two	0	-
Twenty-four	0	-
Twenty-five	0	-

11,445 total contacts

2.56 average number of contacts per chil

Totals County 1950's Sample

Total Number of Contacts 11,445

Contact Line Information

Agency Type

code # 1 - Private CPS	6445	56.31%
2 - Probation	208	1.82%
3 - Family Court	3705	32.37%
4 - Public CPS	957	8.36%
5 - Welfare Dept.	2	0.02%
6 - Other	21	0.18%
7 - Referred to Non Family Court	31	0.27%
Not Indicated	2	0.02%
Contacts From Other Counties	75	0.66%

Case Type

code # 1 - Neglect/Abuse (Court Only)	2281	19.93%
2 - Neglect/Abuse (Other Agencies)	7081	61.87%
3 - Juvenile Delinquency	1166	10.19%
4 - PINS	482	4.21%
5 - Agency Referral	19	0.17%
6 - Parent Offenses	130	1.14%
7 - Others/Unknown	270	2.36%
Not Indicated	16	0.14%

Referral Source

code # 1 - Private CPS	1610	14.07%
2 - Probation	230	2.01%
3 - Family Court	622	5.43%
4 - Public CPS	744	6.50%

Referral Source

code # 5	- Welfare Dept.	377	3.29%
6	- Respondent's Parents	650	5.68%
7	- Respondent's Spouse	1052	9.19%
8	- Other Household Members	580	5.07%
9	- Prosecutor	22	0.19%
10	- Police	1260	11.01%
11	- Public Health Agency	116	1.01%
12	- School	910	7.95%
13	- Private Doctor	17	0.15%
14	- Complainant	183	1.60%
15	- Neighbor	1661	14.51%
16	- Clergy	57	0.50%
17	- Custodian	122	1.07%
18	- Residential Agency	42	0.37%
19	- Anonymous	610	5.33%
20	- Other/Unknown	506	4.42%
21	- Prior Parental Placement Request	47	0.41%
	Not Indicated	27	0.24%

Person Charged

code #	1 - Mother	4096	35.79%
	2 - Father	1175	10.27%
	3 - Mother and Father	3235	28.27%
	4 - Other Household Member	121	1.06%
	5 - Mother and other household member	184	1.61%
	6 - Child	1931	16.87%
	7 - Other Custodian	125	1.09%
	8 - Other/Unknown	71	0.62%
	9 - No One	485	4.24%
	Not Indicated	22	0.19%

Finding

code #	1 - Finding	8999	78.63%
	2 - No Finding	1826	15.95%
	3 - Dismissed/Referred to Another Agency	28	0.24%
	4 - Dismissed/ Already Active	489	4.27%
	Not Indicated	103	0.90%

County ------

Abuse Referral Reasons

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 - Battered Child	65	17	9	1	-	1
2 - Other physical Attacks	437	213	102	57	22	6
3 - Risk of Physical Injury	123	81	62	28	9	3
4 - Sexual Abuse	81	19	32	12	3	1
5 - Impairment of mental/emotional	183	165	78	46	21	2
Total Abuse Reasons	889	495	283	144	55	12

Neglect Referral Reasons

6 - Inadequate food, shelter etc.	1876	1151	467	156	13	7
7 - Malnutrition	12	29	18	6	1	4
8 - Educational Neg.	210	217	110	20	10	13
9 - Medical Neglect	100	197	124	54	11	6
10 - Abandonment	561	140	109	59	5	1
11 - Involuntary Parental Abs	244	226	55	13	15	2
12 - Parental Drug Use	31	10	26	1	-	-
13 - Parental Alcohol	1013	928	288	79	14	4
14 - Parental Sexual Misconduct	385	429	255	56	23	12
15 - Parental Mental Illness	242	110	76	49	16	7
16 - Parental Fighting	225	409	257	63	28	1
17 - Inadequate Supervision	2746	1283	460	141	25	5
52 - Par. Alleged to Prev. neg. another	4	3	-	2	-	-
53 - Par. prev. reported as abused or neg.	-	10	1	5	1	-
54 - Parents in Jail	18	4	8	-	-	-
Total Neglect Reasons	7667	5146	2254	704	165	54
Other-Unknown-Abuse-Neglect	256	21	20	-	-	-

Total Abuse/Neglect Referral Reasons 18,171

County Totals

Sample 1950's

Juvenile Delinquency Referral Reasons

	1	2	3	4	5	6
18 - Homicide	7	-	-	-	-	-
19 - Arson	18	11	2	3	1	-
20 - Rape	8	1	-	-	-	-
21 - Other Sex Crimes	14	3	-	-	-	-
22 - Narcotics Violation	10	-	1	-	-	-
23 - Robbery	76	17	10	-	-	-
24 - Burglary	176	43	7	-	1	-
25 - Assault	122	32	9	3	1	-
26 - Auto Theft	41	3	-	1	-	-
27 - Unauthorized Use of Auto	24	6	2	-	-	-
28 - Larceny	173	90	23	8	2	-
29 - Possession of Dangerous Weap.	17	6	8	2	-	-
30 - Malicious Mischief	103	36	15	5	6	-
31 - Unlawful Entry	49	42	6	6	-	-
32 - Burglar's Tools	2	10	1	-	-	-
33 - Gambling	-	-	-	-	-	-
34 - Receiving Stolen Property	9	5	3	-	1	-
35 - Unlawful Assembly	4	2	-	-	-	-
36 - Disorderly Conduct	35	17	7	2	-	6
Total JD Reasons	888	324	94	30	12	6

County Totals

Sample 1950's

PINS REFERRAL REASONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
37 - Running Away	147	67	14	8	3	6
38 - Habitual Truancy	240	59	21	9	4	-
39 - Refusal to Obey	190	102	29	6	1	-
40 - Sexual Misconduct	85	35	23	4	-	2
41 - Staying Out Late	28	51	32	10	5	-
42 - Associating With Bad Companions	13	19	18	17	2	-
43 - Using Vile Language	11	12	8	9	-	1
44 - Intoxication	7	5	1	2	-	-
45 - Glue Sniffing	3	4	1	-	-	-
Total PINS Reasons	724	354	147	65	15	9

Other/Unknown for JD and PINS	100	6	3	1	-	1

Total Referral Reasons for PINS and JD 2789

County Totals Sample 1950's

MISCELLANEOUS REFERRAL REASONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
47 - Placement	377	16	21	3	-	-
48 - Evaluation	46	3	2	-	-	-
49 - Violation of Probation	52	13	7	6	1	1
50 - Family Offenses	26	6	1	2	-	-
51 - Non-Support	200	38	21	5	8	-
56 - Prior Parental Request for Plac.	188	35	19	14	12	2
Not Indicated	32	4988	8573	10471	11180	11361
Total Miscellaneous Reasons	921	111	71	30	21	2

Total Primary Referral Reasons 11,445

Total Referral Reasons, All Categories 22,107

Appendix F

Summary of Contact Data

1970's Sample

County Total

Sample [illegible]

Number of Contacts Per Child

One	670
Two	473
Three	251
Four	179
Five	113
Six	84
Seven	61
Eight	43
Nine	29
Ten	18
Eleven	12
Twelve	9
Thirteen	2
Fourteen	4
Fifteen	5
Sixteen	2
Seventeen	2
Eighteen	1
Ninteen	2
Twenty	1
Twenty-one	2
Twenty-two	0
Twenty-four	0
Twenty-five	0

1963 child

Totals County 1970 Sample

Total Number of Contacts 5947

Contact Line Information

Agency Type

code #	1 - Private CPS	297
	2 - Probation	2379
	3 - Family Court	2688
	4 - Public CPS	390
	5 - Welfare Dept.	1
	6 - Other	105
	7 - Referred to Non Family Court	7
	Not Indicated	0
	Other counties	80

Case Type

code #	1 - Neglect/Abuse (Court Only)	157
	2 - Neglect/Abuse (Other Agencies)	484
	3 - Juvenile Delinquency	3413
	4 - PINS	1788
	5 - Agency Referral	11
	6 - Parent Offenses	12
	7 - Others/Unknown	76
	Not Indicated	6

Referral Source

code #	1 - Private CPS	76
	2 - Probation	243
	3 - Family Court	232
	4 - Public CPS	113

County Total Sample 1970

Referral Source

code # 5 - Welfare Dept.	71
6 - Respondent's Parents	977
7 - Respondent's Spouse	55
8 - Other Household Members	85
9 - Prosecutor	4
10 - Police	2323
11 - Public Health Agency	26
12 - School	454
13 - Private Doctor	6
14 - Complainant	866
15 - Neighbor	79
16 - Clergy	1
17 - Custodian	15
18 - Residential Agency	45
19 - Anonymous	19
20 - Other/Unknown	237
21 - Prior Parental Placement Request	5
Not Indicated	15

County Totals

Sample 1970

Person Charged

code #	1 - Mother	340
	2 - Father	110
	3 - Mother and Father	145
	4 - Other Household Member	10
	5 - Mother and other household member	3
	6 - Child	5247
	7 - Other Custodian	9
	8 - Other/Unknown	4
	9 - No One	70
	Not Indicated	9

Finding

code #	1 - Finding	4550
	2 - No Finding	999
	3 - Dismissed/Referred to Another Agency	13
	4 - Dismissed/ Already Active	300
	Not Indicated	85

Abuse Referral Reasons

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 - Battered Child	26	1	7	-	-	-
2 - Other physical Attacks	56	14	11	4	1	-
3 - Risk of Physical Injury	10	6	7	2	-	-
4 - Sexual Abuse	7	4	2	1	-	-
5 - Impairment of mental/emotional	20	12	14	5	2	-
Total Abuse Reasons	119	37	41	12	3	-

Neglect Referral Reasons

6 - Inadequate food, shelter etc.	104	63	19	4	1	-
7 - Malnutrition	1	2	-	-	-	-
8 - Educational Neg.	24	19	18	5	5	-
9 - Medical Neglect	9	21	9	5	2	-
10 - Abandonment	56	11	2	1	-	-
11 - Involuntary Parental Abs	13	10	6	1	1	-
12 - Parental Drug Use	8	6	5	-	-	-
13 - Parental Alcohol	50	39	15	9	4	-
14 - Parental Sexual Misconduct	16	16	19	8	2	1
15 - Parental Mental Illness	9	17	9	5	1	-
16 - Parental Fighting	11	20	8	5	-	1
17 - Inadequate Supervision	133	64	28	11	-	-
52 - Par. Alleged to Prev. neg. another	14	3	1	-	-	-
53 - Par. prev. reported as abused or neg.	-	3	2	1	-	-
54 - Parents in Jail	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total Neglect Reasons	449	295	141	55	16	2
Other than abuse-neglect	49	11	4	-	-	-

Total Abuse/Neglect Referral Reasons 1234

County Totals

Sample 1970

Juvenile Delinquency Referral Reasons

	1	2	3	4	5	6
18 - Homicide	7	-	-	-	-	-
19 - Arson	46	6	4	1	-	-
20 - Rape	14	1	-	-	-	-
21 - Other Sex Crimes	43	8	-	-	-	-
22 - Narcotics Violation	198	37	31	19	12	-
23 - Robbery	515	63	13	9	-	1
24 - Burglary	661	77	13	2	3	-
25 - Assault	391	143	16	1	3	-
26 - Auto Theft	180	11	2	2	-	-
27 - Unauthorized Use of Auto	105	16	6	1	-	-
28 - Larceny	471	163	19	4	1	-
29 - Possession of Dangerous Weap.	72	70	12	3	1	-
30 - Malicious Mischief	247	73	9	1	-	-
31 - Unlawful Entry	139	71	5	4	1	-
32 - Burglar's Tools	19	35	8	-	-	-
33 - Gambling	2	-	-	-	-	-
34 - Receiving Stolen Property	74	11	13	-	1	-
35 - Unlawful Assembly	2	1	3	1	-	-
36 - Disorderly Conduct	126	67	15	3	-	-
Total JD Reasons	3312	853	169	51	22	1

County Totals

Sample 1970

PINS REFERRAL REASONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
37 - Running Away	392	138	75	24	5	1
38 - Habitual Truancy	582	200	69	24	8	1
39 - Refusal to Obey	258	166	91	48	17	3
40 - Sexual Misconduct	44	28	16	5	3	1
41 - Staying Out Late	146	183	120	34	3	3
42 - Associating With Bad Companions	18	69	69	46	13	1
43 - Using Vile Language	9	37	23	11	4	1
44 - Intoxication	10	15	11	14	6	-
45 - Glue Sniffing	17	11	7	8	-	-
Total PINS Reasons	1476	847	481	214	59	11

Other/Unknown for JD and PINS	275	88	39	20	6	1

Total Referral Reasons for PINS and JD 7927

County Totals

Sample 1970

MISCELLANEOUS REFERRAL REASONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
47 - Placement	118	8	1	4	-	-
48 - Evaluation	22	4	-	-	-	-
49 - Violation of Probation	71	19	6	7	2	1
50 - Family Offenses	8	1	-	-	-	-
51 - Non-Support	1	6	-	-	-	-
56 - Prior Parental Request for Plac.	29	11	4	1	1	-
Not Indicated	18	3767	5061	5583	5838	5931
Total Miscellaneous Reasons	267	49	11	12	3	1

Total Primary Referral Reasons 5947

Total Referral Reasons, All Categories 9504

Appendix G

Disposition of Abuse, Neglect, Delinquency, and Ungovernability Contacts in the 1950's Sample

Disposition of All Child Abuse Contacts By Percentage. 1950's Sample

	Total	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Lawrence	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	67	48	84.4	59.8	67	55	45	58	41
No further action	61	14	84	40.8	66	49	45	53	12
Released to same parents/supervision	6	34	.4	19	1	6	0	5	29
Released to same parents/services and supervision	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CUSTODY CHANGED	4	14	.4	3.7	4	1	0	27	36
Different parent	2	14	0	.7	2	1	0	21	24
Other Relative	2	0	.4	3	2	0	0	5	12
CHILD PLACED	13	14	8.8	12	19	10	55	5	23
With public agency	8	14	6.8	9	3	4	55	0	23
With private agency	5	0	2	3	16	6	0	5	0
Other	16	14	6.4	24.5	10	34	0	10	0

Disposition of All Child Neglect Contacts By Percentage

1950's Sample

	Total	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Lawrence	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	61	39	75	58	69	54	30	60	23
No further action	54	28	72	42	66	43	21	49	8
Released to same parents/supervision	7	11	2	15	1	11	9	11	15
Released to same parents/services and supervision	.6	.3	.6	.8	2	0	0	0	0
CUSTODY CHANGED	5	4	1.2	3	4	4	4	10	33
Different Parent	3	0	1	1	.6	2	4	7	27
Other Relative	2	4	.2	2	3	2	0	3	6
CHILD PLACED	18	44	15	16	13	14	53	15	41
With Public agency	11	36	10	9	8	5	43	4	38
With Private agency	7	8	5	7	5	9	10	11	3
Other	16	13	9	23	14	28	13	15	3

Disposition of All Delinquency Contacts By Percentage

1950's Sample

	Total	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Lawrence	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	66	21	77	60	63	51	62	75	62
No further action	35	16	47	34	27	23	24	31	23
Released to same parents/supervision	31	5	30	26	35	28	38	44	39
Released to same parents/ services and supervision	.1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
CUSTODY CHANGED	.3	0	0	0	3	0	—	—	—
Different Parent	.2	0	0	0	2	0			
Other Relative	.1	0	0	0	1	0			
CHILD PLACED	21	16	19	20	20	24	—	19	25
With public agency	17	11	16	14	14	21	24	19	25
With private agency	4	5	3	6	6	3	0	0	0
Other	13	63	4	20	14	25	14	6	13

Disposition by All PINS Contacts By Percentage

1950's Sample

	Total	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Lawrence	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	52	30	60	44	59	32	60	72	59
No further action	29	10	34	32	38	16	40	50	11
Released to same parents/supervision	23	20	26	12	20	16	20	22	48
Released to same parents/services and supervision	.1	0	0	0	.8	0	0	0	0
CUSTODY CHANGED	3	10	1	4	3	4	0	6	2
Different Parent	.6	0	.7	2	0	0	0	0	0
Other Relative	2	10	0	2	3	4	0	6	2
CHILD PLACED	29	50	27	34	23	35	40	22	34
With Public Agency	21	30	16	27	17	27	40	22	30
With Private Agency	8	20	11	7	6	8	0	0	4
Other	16	10	12	18	15	29	0	0	5

1950 Sample

DISPOSITION BY Contact

Summary Abuse Referral Reasons

Disposition	Broome # %	Erie # %	Kings # %	Monroe # %	New York # %	St. Lawrence # %	Suffolk # %	Westchester # %	Total # %
No further action	1/14	208/84	58/40.8	86/66	53/47	13/45	10/53	2/12	431/61
Referred to court	0	14/5.6	26/18	4/3	31/28	0	0	0	75/11
Referred to another agency	0	1/.4	9/6	0	6/5	0	0	0	16/2
Released to non-respondent parent or guardian	1/14	0	1/.7	3/2	1/1	0	4/21	4/24	14/2
Released to respondent parent under supervision	3/43	1/.4	27/19	1/.8	7/6	0	1/5	5/29	45/6
Released to respondent parent under supervision with services (daycare homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child placed with other relative	0	1/.4	4/3	3/2	0	0	1/5	2/12	11/2
Child placed with public agency	1/14	17/6.8	13/9	4/3	4/4	16/55	0	4/23	59/8
Child placed with private agency	0	5/2	4/3	21/16	7/6	0	1/5	0	38/5
Disposition not yet made									
Petition changed	0	1/.4	0	9/7	0	0	2/10	0	12/2
Child removed from jurisdiction of agency									
Other or unknown	1/14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7	248	142	131	109	29	19	17	702

1950 Sample

DISPOSITION BY Contact

Summary Neglect Referral Reasons

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Lawrence	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %
Disposition									
No further action	83/28	2022/72	474/42	620/66	735/43	28/21	172/49	34/8	4168/54
Referred to court	15/5	147/5	143/13	43/5	325/19	13/10	10/3	2/.5	698/9
Referred to another agency	5/2	79/3	70/6	16/2	130/8	0	15/4	4/.9	319/4
Released to non-respondent parent or guardian	0	35/1	16/1	6/.6	30/2	5/4	23/7	113/27	228/3
Released to respondent parent under supervision	32/11	46/2	166/15	14/1	192/11	12/9	37/11	66/15	565/7
Released to respondent parent under supervision with services (daycare homemaker	1/.3	18/.6	9/.8	21/2	0	0	0	0	49/.6
Child placed with other relative	13/4	8/.2	27/2	32/3	32/2	0	9/3	26/6	147/2
Child placed with public agency	106/36	276/10	109/9	72/8	89/5	56/43	15/4	161/38	883/11
Child placed with private agency	22/7	152/5	85/7	52/5	146/9	13/10	38/11	11/3	519/7
Disposition not yet made	0	5/.1	0	0	14/1	0	0	2/.5	21/.3
Petition changed	0	3/.1	1/.1	1/.01	0	0	0	2/.5	6/.1
Child removed from jurisdiction of agency	8/3	4/.1	25/2	59/6	2/.01	0	22/6	1/.2	121/1.6
Other or unknown	9/3	1/.04	19/2	3/.3	6/.4	4/3	8/2	3/.7	53/.7
Total	294	2796	1142	939	1701	131	349	425	7777

1950 Sample

DISPOSITION BY Contact

Summary Juvenile Delinquency Referral Reasons

	Broome # %	Erie # %	Kings # %	Monroe # %	New York # %	St. Lawrence # %	Suffolk # %	Westchester # %	Total # %
Disposition									
No further action	3/16	170/47	44/34	34/27	28/23	7/24	5/31	19/23	310/35
Referred to court	1/5	4/1	20/15	9/7	9/8	0	1/6	1/1	45/5
Referred to another agency	0	0	5/4	0	14/13	0	0	2/2	21/2
Released to different parent or guardian	0	0	0	2/2	0	0	0	0	2/.2
Released to same parent under supervision	1/5	110/30	34/26	45/35	31/28	11/38	7/44	33/39	272/31
Released to same parent under supervision with services (daycare homemaker	0	0	0	1/1	0	0	0	0	1/.1
Child placed with other relative	0	0	0	1/1	0	0	0	0	1/.1
Child placed with public agency	2/1	57/16	18/14	18/14	23/21	7/24	3/19	21/25	149/17
Child placed with private agency	1/5	10/3	8/6	8/6	3/3	0	0	0	30/3
Disposition not yet made	0	8/2	1/1	3/2	2/2	0	0	3/4	17/2
Petition changed	0	5/1	0	1/1	1/1	1/3	0	2/2	10/1
Child removed from jurisdiction of agency	1/5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/.1
Other or unknown	10/53	0	0	5/4	1/1	3/10	0	3/4	22/2
Total	19	364	130	127	112	29	16	84	881

1950 Sample

DISPOSITION BY Contact

Summary - PINS Referral Reasons

Disposition	Broome # %	Erie # %	Kings # %	Monroe # %	New York # %	St. Lawrence # %	Suffolk # %	Westchester # %	Total # %
No further action	1/10	94/34	27/32	49/38	19/16	2/40	9/50	6/11	207/29
Referred to court	0	14/5	11/13	9/7	14/12	0	0	0	48/7
Referred to another agency	0	7/2	2/2	5/4	17/14	0	0	2/4	33/5
Released to different parent or guardian	0	2/.7	2/2	0	0	0	0	0	4/.6
Released to same parent under supervision	2/20	72/26	10/12	26/20	19/16	1/20	4/22	26/48	160/23
Released to same parent under supervision with services (daycare homemaker)	0	0	0	1/.8	0	0	0	0	1/.1
Child placed with other relative	1/10	0	2/2	4/3	5/4	0	1/6	1/2	14/2
Child placed with public agency	3/30	44/16	23/27	22/17	33/27	2/40	4/22	16/30	147/21
Child placed with private agency	2/20	31/11	6/7	8/6	10/8	0	0	2/4	59/8
Disposition not yet made	0	2/.7	0	0	1/.8	0	0	1/2	4/.6
Petition changed	0	11/4	0	2/1	3/3	0	0	0	16/2
Child removed from jurisdiction of agency	0	1/.4	0	3/2	0	0	0	0	4/.6
Other or unknown	1/10	0.	3/3	1/1	1/.8	0	0	0	6/.9
Total	10	278	86	130	122	5	18	54	703

Appendix H

Disposition of Delinquency and Ungovernability Contacts in the 1970's Sample

Disposition of Delinquency Contacts by Percentage

1970's Sample

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	71	90.7	89.3	91.8	76.2	83.3	97.9	92.5
No Further Action	18.8	70.5	71.4	79	44.9	50	61.6	59.6
Released to Same Parents/Supervision	57.2	20.2	17.9	12.8	31.3	33.3	36.3	32.9
Released to Same Parents/services and supervision								
CUSTODY CHANGED	1.2	0	.2	.3	1.6	2.8	0	1.4
Different Parent	.8	0	.2	0	1.4	2.8	0	1.4
Other Relative	.4	0	0	.3	.2	0	0	0
CHILD PLACED	24.9	8.6	8.5	4.9	20.2	8.3	2.1	4.8
With Public Agency	24.5	7.2	7.8	4.6	17.7	8.3	2.1	4.8
With Private Agency	.4	1.4	.7	.3	2.5	0	0	0
Other	2.9	.7	2	3	2	5.6	0	1.3

Disposition of Ungovernability Contacts by Percentage 1970's Sample

	Broome	Erie	Kings	Monroe	New York	St. Law	Suffolk	Westchester
CHILD IN SAME HOME	55.5	81.8	76.7	85.1	56	71.5	93.8	76.7
No Further Action	12.7	43.7	31.2	65	26	50	68.8	24.7
Released to Same Parents/Supervision	42.8	38.1	45.5	20.1	30	21.5	25	52
Released to Same Parents/services and supervision	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CUSTODY CHANGED	.9	2.4	.9	1.5	4.6	7.1	0	2.2
Different Parent	0	2.4	0	0	2.3	0	0	1.1
Other Relative	.9	0	.9	1.5	2.3	7.1	0	1.1
CHILD PLACED	35.4	12	17.4	11.2	35.9	14.3	1.2	10.5
With Public Agency	34.5	7.2	12.9	9	23.6	14.3	1.2	8.2
With Private Agency	.9	4.8	4.5	2.2	12.3	0	0	2.3
Other	8.2	4	5	2.2	3.5	17.4	5	10.6

Appendix I

Children With Founded Contacts
By Sex, Type of Contacts, and County
1950's Sample

Children With Founded Contacts

County Total

Sample 1950

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	2	41	3	56
Abuse & Status Offense	.4	8	.5	10
Abuse & Delinquency	.7	15	.2	4
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.3	7	.1	2
Neglect Only	50.2	1017	55.8	1033
Neglect & Status Offense	4.4	89	6.8	126
Neglect & Delinquency	8.4	171	2.1	38
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	5.3	107	2.5	47
Abuse & Neglect Only	17.2	348	20.5	379
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	1.8	37	4	74
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	2.2	45	.8	14
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.9	39	1.4	25
Status Offense Only	.7	15	.8	14
Delinquency Only	1.4	29	.2	4
Status Offense & Delinquency	1.2	24	.4	7
Miscellaneous	1.7	35	1.4	26
TOTAL	30.4	2027	20.7	1851

Children With Founded Contacts

County Broome

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	2.5	3	3.7	4
Abuse & Status Offense			1.9	2
Abuse & Delinquency				
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Neglect Only	65	80	71	76
Neglect & Status Offense	.8	1	3.7	4
Neglect & Delinquency	5.7	7	1.9	2
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	4.1	5	1	1
Abuse & Neglect Only	13.8	17	13.1	14
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.8	1	.9	1
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	1.6	2		
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Status Offense Only	.8	1		
Delinquency Only				
Status Offense & Delinquency	1.6	2		
Miscellaneous	3.3	4	2.8	3
TOTAL	18.8	123	12.2	107

Children With Founded Contacts

County Erie

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	1.5	10	3.4	19
Abuse & Status Offense	.5	3	.5	3
Abuse & Delinquency	.3	2	.2	1
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.5	3		
Neglect Only	46.6	308	55	307
Neglect & Status Offense	4.5	30	6.1	34
Neglect & Delinquency	9.7	64	2.7	15
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	6.4	42	2	11
Abuse & Neglect Only	18.2	120	21.5	120
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	2.6	17	4.3	24
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	2.3	15	.7	4
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.4	16	1.3	7
Status Offense Only	.5	3	.7	4
Delinquency Only	1.5	10	.4	2
Status Offense & Delinquency	1.7	11	.7	4
Miscellaneous	1.1	7	.5	3
TOTAL	33.7	661	20.1	558

Children With Founded Contacts

County Kings

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	2	6	3.9	11
Abuse & Status Offense	.3	1	1.1	3
Abuse & Delinquency	1	3		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.3	1	.4	1
Neglect Only	46.4	137	50.5	141
Neglect & Status Offense	3.1	9	6.5	18
Neglect & Delinquency	9.8	29	1.1	3
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	3.4	10	2.2	6
Abuse & Neglect Only	23.7	70	25.4	71
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.3	1	5	14
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	3.4	10	.7	2
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.7	5	2.2	6
Status Offense Only	1	3	.4	1
Delinquency Only	2.7	8		
Status Offense & Delinquency	.7	2	.7	2
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	27.9	295	20.2	279

Children With Founded Contacts

County Monroe

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	1.8	5	1.9	5
Abuse & Status Offense	.4	1	.7	2
Abuse & Delinquency	1.5	4		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Neglect Only	45.1	124	49.8	134
Neglect & Status Offense	4	19	9.7	26
Neglect & Delinquency	9.5	26	1.9	5
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	6.9	19	4.8	13
Abuse & Neglect Only	15.3	42	17.8	48
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	3.6	10	7.1	19
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	2.5	7	1.5	4
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.2	6	1.9	5
Status Offense Only			.7	2
Delinquency Only	.4	1		
Status Offense & Delinquency	1.5	4		
Miscellaneous	2.5	7	2.2	6
TOTAL	37.8	275	30.5	269

Children With Founded Contacts

County New York

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	1.5	4	2	6
Abuse & Status Offense	.4	1		
Abuse & Delinquency	.7	2	.3	1
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.7	2	.3	1
Neglect Only	50.6	137	56.3	170
Neglect & Status Offense	6.3	17	7.3	22
Neglect & Delinquency	5.9	16	2.7	8
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	4.1	11	1.7	5
Abuse & Neglect Only	18.5	50	22.2	67
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	2.6	7	3.3	10
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	2.6	7	.7	2
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.6	7	1.7	5
Status Offense Only	.7	2	.7	2
Delinquency Only	.7	2		
Status Offense & Delinquency	.4	1		
Miscellaneous	1.8	5	1	3
TOTAL	29.4	271	19.5	302

Children With Founded Contacts

County St. Lawrence **Sample** 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only			2.4	1
Abuse & Status Offense				
Abuse & Delinquency	4.7	2	2.4	1
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Neglect Only	51.2	22	58.5	24
Neglect & Status Offense	2.3	1	2.4	1
Neglect & Delinquency	11.6	5	2.4	1
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	9.3	4		
Abuse & Neglect Only	14	6	26.8	11
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense				
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	4.7	2		
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.3	1	2.4	1
Status Offense Only			2.4	1
Delinquency Only				
Status Offense & Delinquency				
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	34.8	43	12.3	41

Children With Founded Contacts

County Suffolk

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	3.6	4	1.1	1
Abuse & Status Offense				
Abuse & Delinquency	.9	1		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Neglect Only	70.9	78	74.2	69
Neglect & Status Offense	3.6	4	8.6	8
Neglect & Delinquency	8.2	9	1.1	1
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Abuse & Neglect Only	6.4	7	11.8	11
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense				
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Status Offense Only	1.8	2	1.1	1
Delinquency Only	.9	1		
Status Offense & Delinquency	1.8	2		
Miscellaneous	1.8	2	2.2	2
TOTAL	19.1	110	12.9	93

Children With Founded Contacts

County Westchester

Sample 1950's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only	3.6	9	4.5	9
Abuse & Status Offense	.8	2		
Abuse & Delinquency	.4	1	.5	1
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.4	1		
Neglect Only	52.6	131	55.4	112
Neglect & Status Offense	3.2	8	6.4	13
Neglect & Delinquency	6	15	1.5	3
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	6.4	16	1.5	3
Abuse & Neglect Only	14.5	36	18.3	37
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.4	1	3	6
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	.8	2	1	2
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.6	4	.5	1
Status Offense Only	1.6	4	1.5	3
Delinquency Only	2.8	7	1	2
Status Offense & Delinquency	.8	2	.5	1
Miscellaneous	4	10	4.5	9
TOTAL	29.3	249	21.8	202

Appendix J

Children With Founded Contacts
By Sex, Type of Contact, and County
1970 Sample

Children With Founded Contacts

County Total

Sample 1970

Type of Contacts	Boys %	Boys #	Girls %	Girls #
Abuse only			.4	2
Abuse & Status Offense	.9	7	1.9	9
Abuse & Delinquency	1.7	22	.2	1
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	1	13	1.2	6
Neglect Only			.2	1
Neglect & Status Offense	2.2	28	8.7	42
Neglect & Delinquency	6.1	78	2.1	10
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	4.6	59	5.6	27
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.6	8	3.9	19
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	1.8	23	1.2	6
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.2	28	3.1	15
Status Offense Only	10.3	131	39.8	192
Delinquency Only	42.7	543	13.9	67
Status Offense & Delinquency	25.9	329	17.6	85
Miscellaneous		3		1
TOTAL	21.1	1272	28.7	483

Children With Founded Contacts

County Broome **Sample** 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense			1.7	1
Abuse & Delinquency	1.4	3	3.3	2
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.5	1		
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense	1.9	4	8.3	5
Neglect & Delinquency	3.4	7		
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	4.3	9	1.7	1
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.5	1	1.7	1
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	1	2		
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	.5	1		
Status Offense Only	16.3	34	50	30
Delinquency Only	54.3	113	13.3	8
Status Offense & Delinquency	15.9	33	20	12
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	13.5	208	16.7	60

Children With Founded Contacts

County Erie

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense	.9	1	4.8	3
Abuse & Delinquency	2.6	3		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.9	1		
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense	12.3	14	16.1	10
Neglect & Delinquency	16.7	19	3.2	2
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	5.3	6	4.8	3
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense			4.8	3
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	1.8	2		
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency			1.6	1
Status Offense Only	15.8	18	43.5	27
Delinquency Only	16.7	19	4.8	3
Status Offense & Delinquency	26.3	30	16.1	10
Miscellaneous	.9	1		
TOTAL	41.4	114	35.6	62

Children With Founded Contacts

County Kings

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense	.3	1	2.3	3
Abuse & Delinquency	.9	3		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.6	2	.8	1
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense	.6	2	7.6	10
Neglect & Delinquency	3.3	11		
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	3	10	3.8	5
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	.6	2	2.3	3
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	.6	2	.8	1
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.4	8	.8	1
Status Offense Only	7.5	25	47.3	62
Delinquency Only	48.8	163	16	21
Status Offense & Delinquency	31.4	105	18.3	24
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	12.3	334	18.4	131

Children With Founded Contacts

County Monroe

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense	.6	1	2	1
Abuse & Delinquency	2.5	4		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	.6	1		
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense	1.9	3	11.8	6
Neglect & Delinquency	10.8	17	11.8	6
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	8.3	13	7.8	4
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	1.3	2	11.8	6
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	4.5	7	3.9	2
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	5.7	9	3.9	2
Status Offense Only	8.9	14	25.5	13
Delinquency Only	32.5	51	17.6	9
Status Offense & Delinquency	22.3	35	3.9	2
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	36.3	157	53	51

Children With Founded Contacts

County New York

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only			2.4	2
Abuse & Status Offense	.9	2		
Abuse & Delinquency	.9	2		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.4	3		
Neglect Only			1.2	1
Neglect & Status Offense	2.4	5	10.8	9
Neglect & Delinquency	7.6	16		
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	8.1	17	10.8	9
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense	1.4	3	6	5
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	3.3	7	2.4	2
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	4.7	10	10.8	9
Status Offense Only	4.7	10	21.7	18
Delinquency Only	33.6	71	12	10
Status Offense & Delinquency	30.8	65	21.7	18
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	30.9	211	44.6	83

Children With Founded Contacts

County St. Lawrence

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense			20	1
Abuse & Delinquency				
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense				
Neglect & Delinquency	10.7	3		
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	3.6	1	20	1
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense				
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	7.1	2		
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Status Offense Only	14.3	4	20	1
Delinquency Only	46.4	13		
Status Offense & Delinquency	17.9	5	40	2
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	21.4	28	40	5

Children With Founded Contacts

County Suffolk

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense	.7	1	2.2	1
Abuse & Delinquency	1.4	2		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.4	2		
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense			2.2	1
Neglect & Delinquency	2.9	4	4.3	2
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.4	1		
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense				
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency	1.4	1	2.2	1
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency				
Status Offense Only	12.2	17	54.3	25
Delinquency Only	66.2	92	26.1	12
Status Offense & Delinquency	13.7	19	8.7	4
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	7.9	139	10.9	46

Children With Founded Contacts

County Westchester

Sample 1970's

Type of Contacts	Boys		Girls	
	%	#	%	#
Abuse only				
Abuse & Status Offense	1.2	1		
Abuse & Delinquency	6.2	5		
Abuse & Status Offense & Delinquency	3.7	3	6.7	3
Neglect Only				
Neglect & Status Offense			2.2	1
Neglect & Delinquency	1.2	1		
Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	2.5	2	8.9	4
Abuse & Neglect Only				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense			2.2	1
Abuse & Neglect & Delinquency				
Abuse & Neglect & Status Offense & Delinquency	1.2	1	4.4	2
Status Offense Only	11.1	9	35.6	16
Delinquency Only	25.9	21	8.9	4
Status Offense & Delinquency	45.7	37	28.9	13
Miscellaneous		1	2.2	1
TOTAL	17.3	81	26.6	45

Appendix K

Distribution of Child Abuse and Neglect Referral Reasons That Correlated With Juvenile Delinquency or Ungovernability Referral Reasons

1950's Sample

1950's Girls Delinquency	Homicide	Arson	Rape	Other Sex Crime	Narcotics	Robbery	Burglary	Assault	Auto Theft	Unauthorized use of auto	Larceny	Possession Dangerous Weapons	Malicious mischief	Unlawful entry	Burglar tools	Stolen property	Unlawful assembly	Disorderly conduct	TOTAL	% of total	% of all maltreatment contacts
Battered Child																					.8
Other Physical Attacks						1	1	1			6		4						13	6.5	5.1
Risk of Injury					1								2						3	1.5	1.4
Sexual Abuse							1	1					1						4	2	.9
Mental/emotional Impairment								1			1							2	4	2	2.1
Inadequate food, shelter, or cloth.		1		1			2	5	1	1	15	1	5					5	37	18.4	21.9
Malnutrition																					.1
Education Neglect					1			3			2		1						7	3.5	2.5
Medical Neglect											1		1						2	1	1.2
Abandonment						1		3			4	1	2						11	5.5	6.6
Involuntary parental absence						3		3		2	7								15	7.5	2.6
Parental Drug Addiction												1						2	3	1.5	.4
Parent Alcoholism				2			2	6		1	6	1		1					19	9.5	11.8
Parent sex conduct							2	5			3								10	5	4.5
Parent Mental Illness								1			1		1						3	1.5	2.8
Parental Fighting					1		1	2											4	2	2.6
Inadequate Supervision	1	1		1	2	3	4	12		1	22		6				1	4	58	28.9	32.1
Other					1		1	1			5								8	4	
TOTAL	1	2		4	6	8	14	44	1	5	74	4	23	1			1	13	201		

1950's Boys Delinquency	Homicide	Arson	Rape	Other Sex Crime	Narcotics	Robbery	Burglary	Assault	Auto Theft	Unauthorized use of auto	Larceny	Possession Dangerous Weapons	Malicious mischief	Unlawful entry	Burglar tools	Stolen property	Unlawful assembly	Disorderly conduct	TOTAL	% of total	% of all maltreatment contacts	
attered Child							1	1		1	1								4	.5	.8	
ther Physical ttacks		2	1	1		8	13	11	2	2	10	1	3	1		2	1	2	60	6.9	5.1	
isk of Injury		1				1	3	1				1	1	1					9	1	1.4	
exual Abuse							1												1	.1	.9	
ental/emotional mpairment						3	7	1	1	2	7		2	2		1		3	29	3.3	2.1	
Inadequate food, helter, or cloth.		3	4	5	1	21	34	18	10	8	25	2	24	16	2	2	1	7	183	21.1	21.9	
alnutrition		1											1						2	.2	.1	
Education Neglect		1	2	1		7	9	6	1	1	5	2	2	2	1		1	2	43	5	2.5	
edical Neglect		1				1	2	1	1		4		3						13	1.5	1.2	
Abandonment						5	11	2	3	2	6	1	6	6				1	43	5	6.6	
Involuntary parental bsence			1	2		3	8	4	3	1	10	1	10	4					47	5.4	2.6	
Parental Drug Addiction																						
Parent Alcoholism		2		3	1	7	11	8	7	4	9	4	7	4	1		1	1	70	8.1	11.8	
Parent sex conduct				1		2	5	3	2		4		5	2					24	2.8	4.5	
Parent Mental Illness					1		10			1	1	1	3	3				1	21	2.4	2.8	
Parental Fighting					1	1	7	6			2		3	3				1	24	2.8	2.6	
Inadequate Supervision	3	6	5	5	2	28	31	29	13	10	40	3	38	16			1	6	236	27.2	32.1	
Other 334		2		1	1	10	11	5	2	1	9	2	6	2		2		4	58	6.7		335
TOTAL	3	19	13	19	7	97	164	96	45	33	133	18	114	62	4	7	5	28	867			

1950's Girls Ungovernability	Running Away	Truancy Habit	Refusal to Obey	Sexual misconduct	Staying out late	Associating wit bad companions	Vile language	Intoxication	Glue sniffing		TOTAL	% of total	% of all maltreatment contacts
attered Child	2	1									3	.6	.8
ther Attacks	13	10	9	8	2	1					43	8.5	5.1
isk of Injury	2		1	3							6	1.2	1.4
exual Abuse	2	3	5	3	1	1					15	3	.9
ental or emotional mpairment	5	3	3	5				1			17	3.4	2.1
nadequate food, helter, clothing	22	29	16	21	4	3	1				96	19	21.9
alnutrition													.1
ducational Neglect	2	10	5	2	3						22	4.4	2.5
edical Neglect	1	1		2	1						5	1	1.2
bandonment	6	3	9	1	1		1				21	4.2	6.6
nvoluntary arental Absence	6	7	6		1	1		1			22	4.4	2.6
arental Drug ddiction													.4
arent lcoholism	14	8	11	12	4	2	1	1			53	10.5	11.8
arent Sexual isconduct	7	8	6	4	2	2					29	5.8	4.5
arent Mental llness	8	2	4	3	2		1				20	4	2.8
arent ighting	2	2	1		1		1				7	1.4	2.6
nadequate upervision	30	32	33	19	5	4	1				124	24.6	32.1
Other/unknown	5	7	2	4	2		1				21	4.2	
TOTAL	127	126	111	87	29	14	7	3			504		

1950's Boys Ungovernability	Running Away	Truancy Habit	Refusal to Obey	Sexual misconduct	Staying out late	Associating wit bad companions	Vile language	Intoxication	Glue sniffing		TOTAL	% of total	% of all maltreatment contacts
attered Child	1	3									4	1	.8
ther Attacks	9	6	17	2	1	1					36	8.7	5.1
isk of Injury		1									1	.2	1.4
exual Abuse				1							1	.2	.9
ental or emotional Impairment		4	2	1							7	1.7	2.1
nadequate food, helter, clothing	12	34	26	8	3	3	3		1		90	21.7	21.9
alnutrition													.1
ducational Neglect	6	8	1		1						16	3.9	2.5
edical Neglect	1		1		1						3	.7	1.2
bandonment	5	11	6			2					24	5.8	6.6
Involuntary arental Absence	1	3	5		1				1		11	2.7	2.6
arental Drug ddiction								1			1	.2	.4
arent lcoholism	8	12	7	4	1	2					34	8.2	11.8
arent Sexual isconduct	2	6	8	3		2					21	5.1	4.5
arent Mental Illness	2	4	1	1							8	1.9	2.8
arent ighting	3	3	3				3				12	2.9	2.6
Inadequate Supervision	19	41	39	6	7	5	3	1	1		122	29.5	32.1
Other/unknown	4	10	5	2				2			23	5.6	
TOTAL	73	146	121	28	15	15	9	4	3		414		

Appendix L

Distribution of Child Protective and Juvenile Delinquency Contacts that Correlate in the 1970's Sample

1970

Boys

	Homicide	Arson	Rape	Other Sex Crim	Narcotics	Robbery	Burglary	Assault	Auto Theft	Unauthorized use of auto	Larceny	Possession Dangerous Weap	Malicious mischief	Unlawful entry	Burglar tools	Stolen property	Unlawful assembly	Disorderly conduct	TOTAL
ttered Child						2	4	3		3	2	1	1						16
her Physical tacks		1		1	2	6	9	4	1	2	7		5	2	1	1		2	44
isk of Injury							3	1			1		1						6
exual Abuse							1	1	1		1								4
ental/emotional pairment						3	3	2			2		2						12
adequate food, elter, or cloth.	1	1			1	10	22	10		5	14	4	5	3	2	1		1	80
lnutrition																			
ucation Neglect			1		1	5	6	1		1	2	1	1					1	20
edical Neglect						1		1	1		1								4
andonment		1	1	1	2	8	11	3	2	2	5		1	2	1	1		3	44
nvoluntary parental sence						3	2	1		1	1								8
rental Drug diction		1			2	4	2	1	1		1	1						2	15
rent Alcoholism			1	1	2	7	8	3	2	1	2	1	2					1	31
rent x conduct		1				5	2			2			1	2	1	1		1	16
rent ntal Illness					2	2	3	2		2	1	1		1		1			15
rental Fighting		1		1		2	3	1	1		1								10
adequate pervision		1			2	19	21	16	3	4	17	1	11	3	3	3		4	108
her		2			2	7	5	3	4	2	8	2	2	1	1			1	40
revsious hild Abuse and Neglcc			1	1															2
OTAL	1	9	4	5	16	84	105	53	16	25	66	12	32	14	9	8		16	475

Appendix M

Presence of Mothers and Fathers in Homes
1950's and 1970's Samples

Mother Present in the Home -- By Child

1950's Sample

County	In Home	Not In Home	Not Indicated
Broome	62.28%	36.30%	1.42%
Erie	89.61%	8.45%	1.94%
Kings	87.20%	12.64%	0.16%
Monroe	94.31%	4.22%	1.47%
New York	84.40%	15.12%	0.95%
St. Lawrence	74.26%	25.74%	0
Suffolk	87.01%	12.34%	0.65%
Westchester	62.11%	35.37%	2.53%
Totals	83.70%	15.05%	1.25%

Father Present in Home -- By Child

1950's Sample

County	In Home	Not In Home	Not Indicated
Broome	47.69%	36.30%	1.78%
Erie	67.44%	30.08%	2.48%
Kings	67.20%	32.48%	0.32%
Monroe	56.51%	40.55%	2.94%
New York	44.29%	54.88%	0.83%
St. Lawrence	81.19%	16.83%	1.98%
Suffolk	51.95%	46.75%	1.30%
Westchester	49.68%	50.32%	2.53%
Totals	57.69%	40.25%	1.79%

Father Present in Home -- By Child

1950's Sample

County	In Home	Not In Home	Not Indicated
Broome	47.69%	36.30%	1.78%
Erie	67.44%	30.08%	2.48%
Kings	67.20%	32.48%	0.32%
Monroe	56.51%	40.55%	2.94%
New York	44.29%	54.88%	0.83%
St. Lawrence	81.19%	16.83%	1.98%
Suffolk	51.95%	46.75%	1.30%
Westchester	49.68%	50.32%	2.53%
Totals	57.69%	40.25%	1.79%

Father Present in the Home -- By Child

1970's Sample

County	In Home	Not In Home	Not Indicated
Broome	29.14%	25.90%	44.96%
Erie	25.99%	22.03%	51.98%
Kings	28.57%	46.63%	24.80%
Monroe	16.38%	12.29%	71.33%
New York	27.33%	33.76%	38.91%
St. Lawrence	66.98%	39.02%	0
Suffolk	77.94%	18.63%	3.43%
Westchester	7.10%	9.03%	83.87%
Totals	30.51%	28.27%	41.21%

Mother Present In the Home -- By Child

1970's Sample

County	In Home	Not In Home	Not Indicated
Broome	48.20%	7.19%	44.60%
Erie	38.98%	9.04%	51.93%
Kings	67.66%	7.74%	24.60%
Monroe	27.30%	1.71%	70.99%
New York	52.73%	9.65%	38.61%
St. Lawrence	73.17%	26.83%	0
Suffolk	92.65%	3.92%	3.43%
Westchester	13.55%	3.23%	83.23%
Totals	52.36%	6.82%	40.80%

Appendix N

Tables on Out-of-Wedlock Birth Status of Children in 1950's and 1970's Samples

Children Born Out-of-Wedlock in the 1950's Sample

County	Yes, Born Out-of-Wedlock	No, or Unknown
Broome	16.37%	83.63%
Erie	12.17%	87.83%
Kings	18.88%	81.12%
Monroe	20.55%	79.45%
New York	26.90%	73.10%
St. Lawrence	13.00%	87.00%
Suffolk	12.34%	87.66%
Westchester	19.79%	80.21%

Note: When the child data sheets were designed, the designer decided to record this information by having "yes" or "no" circled to indicate whether a child was born out-of-wedlock. In order to conform to the limits of the number of digets that could be punched on a key-punch card, an additional decision was made to have only two choices, which meant that "no" and "unknown" had to be combined. The problem this makes for analysis of the data was not so apparant at the time. Thus, the figures for out-of-wedlock births is a minimal figure; it is probably higher, but it cannot be extracted from the data as recorded. Fortunately, the point is not lost that the rate of illigitimacy is considerably greater in the sample than in the general population.

Children Born Out-of-Wedlock in the 1970's Sample

County	Yes, born Out-of-Wedlock	No, or Unknown
Broome	8.63%	91.37%
Erie	12.99%	87.01%
Kings	17.26%	82.74%
Monroe	9.22%	90.78%
New York	21.45%	81.19%
St. Lawrence	41.88%	51.12%
Suffolk	1.96%	98.04%
Westchester	12.90%	87.10%

Note: The comments made on the table for the 1950's sample also apply to the 1970's sample.

Percent of out-of-wedlock births per total live births

County	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	Combined Total
Broome	N.A.	N.A.	2.58	2.57	2.63	3.20	3.43	3.88	4.27	3.22
Erie	N.A.	N.A.	4.23	4.32	4.39	5.07	5.40	5.79	6.72	5.15
Kings	5.80	5.80	6.10	6.90	N.A.	N.A.	9.40	10.80	12.40	8.24
Monroe	N.A.	N.A.	4.43	4.95	4.91	5.69	6.24	6.80	7.84	5.92
New York	14.70	15.10	16.50	17.00	N.A.	N.A.	19.80	20.50	22.10	17.96
St. Lawrence	N.A.	N.A.	3.54	3.14	3.47	4.13	3.13	3.86	4.36	3.68
Suffolk	N.A.	N.A.	1.43	1.76	2.11	1.96	1.96	2.52	2.73	2.09
Westchester	N.A.	N.A.	4.31	4.27	3.88	4.12	4.56	5.15	5.90	4.65

Percent of out-of-wedlock births for United States

1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
3.50	4.10	3.90	4.50	5.30	7.70

Appendix O

Ethnic Data On 1950's and 1970's Sample Comparisons Between Samples and Census

ETHNICITY 1950's Sample
By Child

County	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Unknown
Broome	40%(112)	0	0	0	60% (169)
Erie	64%(823)	14% (179)	0	0	21% (284)
Kings	64%(400)	29% (181)	4% (24)	1.5%(10)	1.5%(10)
Monroe	63%(343)	12% (66)	.18%(1)	0	25% (135)
New York	34%(285)	38% (318)	26% (218)	1% (10)	1% (9)
St. Lawrence	100% (101)	0	0	0	0
Suffolk	72%(222)	13% (40)	4% (1)	0	14% (42)
Westchester	65%(310)	33% (156)	1% (5)	.21%(1)	1% (3)
	58%(2596)	21% (940)	6% (256)	.47%(21)	14.5% (652)

ETHNICITY 1970's Sample
By Child

County	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Unknown
Broome	85% (237)	3% (8)	0	0	12% (33)
Erie	51% (90)	38%(68)	.56%(1)	0	10.4% (18)
Kings	19% (98)	41%(202)	20% (103)	0	20% (101)
Monroe	41% (119)	41%(120)	3% (9)	0	15% (45)
New York	11% (34)	47%(147)	34% (107)	1% (3)	7% (20)
St. Lawrence	100% (41)	0	0	0	0
Suffolk	35% (71)	12% (24)	2% (4)	0	51% (105)
Westchester	44% (68)	28% (43)	4% (7)	0	24% (37)
	39% (758)	31% (612)	12% (231)	.15% (3)	18% (359)

County	Whites In 1950 Census	Whites in 1950's Sample	Unknown in 1950's Sampl
Broome	95.5%	40%	60%
Erie	95.2%	64%	21%
Kings	92.2%	64%	1.5%
Monroe	98.3%	63%	25%
New York	79.4%	34%	1%
St. Lawrence	99.8%	100%	0%
Suffolk	95.1%	72%	14%
Westchester	93.8%	65%	1%

County	Whites in 1970 Census	Whites in 1970's Sample	Unknown in 1970's Sampl
Broome	98.6%	85%	12%
Erie	-	51%	10%
Kings	73.8%	19%	20%
Monroe	92.1%	41%	15%
New York	70.8%	11%	7%
St. Lawrence	99.4%	100%	0
Suffolk	94.8%	35%	51%
Westchester	89.8%	44%	24%

Appendix P

Number of Children Per Family

1950's and 1970's Sample

Sample 1950

Number of Children Per Family

	1	2	3	4	5	6-16
Broome	31.78	28.04	13.08	12.15	4.67	9.34
Erie	11.04	15.52	17.91	17.01	12.54	25.97
Kings	14.13	15.22	20.11	15.76	11.41	23.36
Monroe	9.38	10.94	16.41	15.63	12.50	35.15
New York	25.43	24.40	16.49	14.09	7.90	11.34
St. Lawrence	8.33	-	20.83	16.67	12.50	41.68
Suffolk	26.52	28.79	16.67	13.64	5.30	9.09
Westchester	36.94	20.72	15.77	11.26	7.66	7.65
Totals	21.22	19.61	17.01	14.55	9.42	18.12

% of sample with 4 or more children: 42.16

% of census with 4 or more children: 12.10

Difference between census and sample: 348%

% of sample with 8 or more children: 8.00

% of census with 8 or more children: 3.90

Difference between census and sample: 205%

Sample 1970

Number of Children Per Family

	1	2	3	4	5	6-16
Broome	13.51	10.04	13.90	14.67	17.37	30.51
Erie	5.56	12.96	11.11	16.67	16.05	37.65
Kings	10.63	11.67	14.17	15.83	13.96	33.75
Monroe	28.57	11.36	9.52	10.26	11.36	28.94
New York	24.75	10.23	13.86	11.88	15.51	23.76
St. Lawrence	13.16	7.89	23.68	10.53	7.89	36.84
Suffolk	75.40	9.09	4.28	2.14	2.67	2.13
Westchester	23.49	12.08	18.79	11.41	11.41	22.82
total	23.17	10.96	12.69	12.69	12.96	27.55

% of sample with 4 or more children:	53.16
% of N.Y. State census with 4 or more:	16.10
Difference between census and sample:	330%

% of sample with 8 or more children:	10.21
% of U.S. census with 8 or more:	2.50
Difference between census and sample:	408%

Families With Children Under 18

	1 child	2	3	4+
1950:				
U.S. Census	40.8	31.9	15.0	12.1
N.Y.S.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1960:				
U.S. Census	32.4	31.5	19.4	16.5
N.Y.S.	35.1	34.4	30.3	N.A.
Erie Cty.	31.8	32.2	35.9	N.A.
Kings "	39.3	35.6	25.0	N.A.
New York	42.9	30.8	26.1	N.A.
Suffolk	27.7	35.0	37.1	N.A.
Westchester	34.6	37.1	28.1	N.A.
Rochester (Monroe)	31.6	33.1	35.2	N.A.
1970:				
U.S. Census	32.7	30.8	18.8	17.6
N.Y.S.	33.4	31.7	18.7	16.1
Binghamton (Broome)	30.9	30.8	19.4	18.7
Buffalo (Erie)	31.6	29.5	19.8	19.1
New York City	34.9	32.6	15.6	14.1
Rochester (Monroe)	31.0	31.5	19.4	18.0

Families With 8 or More Children

	8	9	10	11	12
1950:					
U.S. Census	1.2	1.2	.7	.7	.1
1970:					
U.S. Census	1.0	.6	.4	.2	.3